

WITH COMPLIMENTS OF

*Jas. Sutherland M.P.*

OFFICIAL REPORT  
OF THE  
**Liberal Convention**

HELD IN RESPONSE TO  
THE CALL OF

HON. WILFRID LAURIER,

LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY OF THE  
DOMINION OF CANADA.

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OTTAWA, TUESDAY, JUNE 20TH, AND WEDNESDAY,  
JUNE 21ST, 1893.

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**Toronto :**

PUBLISHED BY THE BUDGET PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.

1893.

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Aug. 1923

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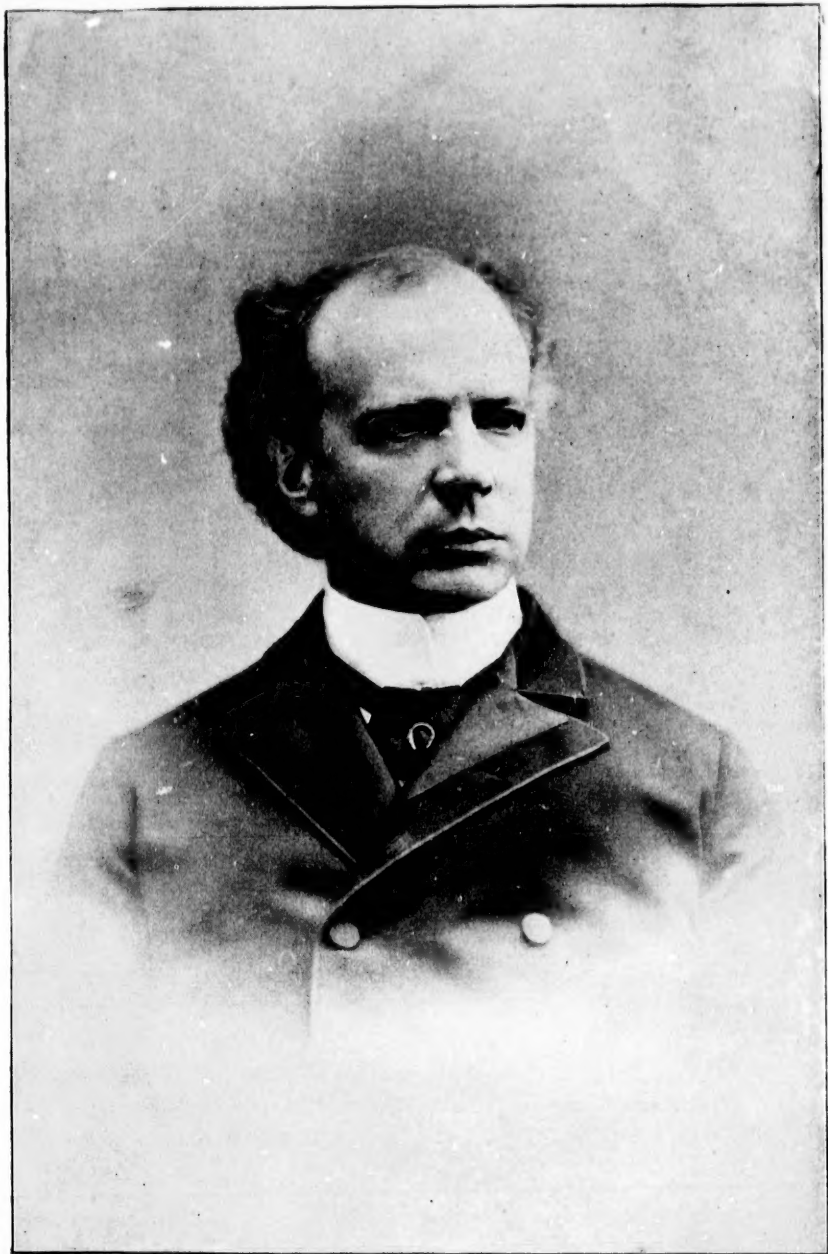


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HON. WILFRID LAURIER, M. P.  
LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

TOPLEY PHOTO, OTTAWA.



## THE CALL.

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*The following appeared in the Liberal press immediately after the close of the session of the Dominion Parliament of 1893:*

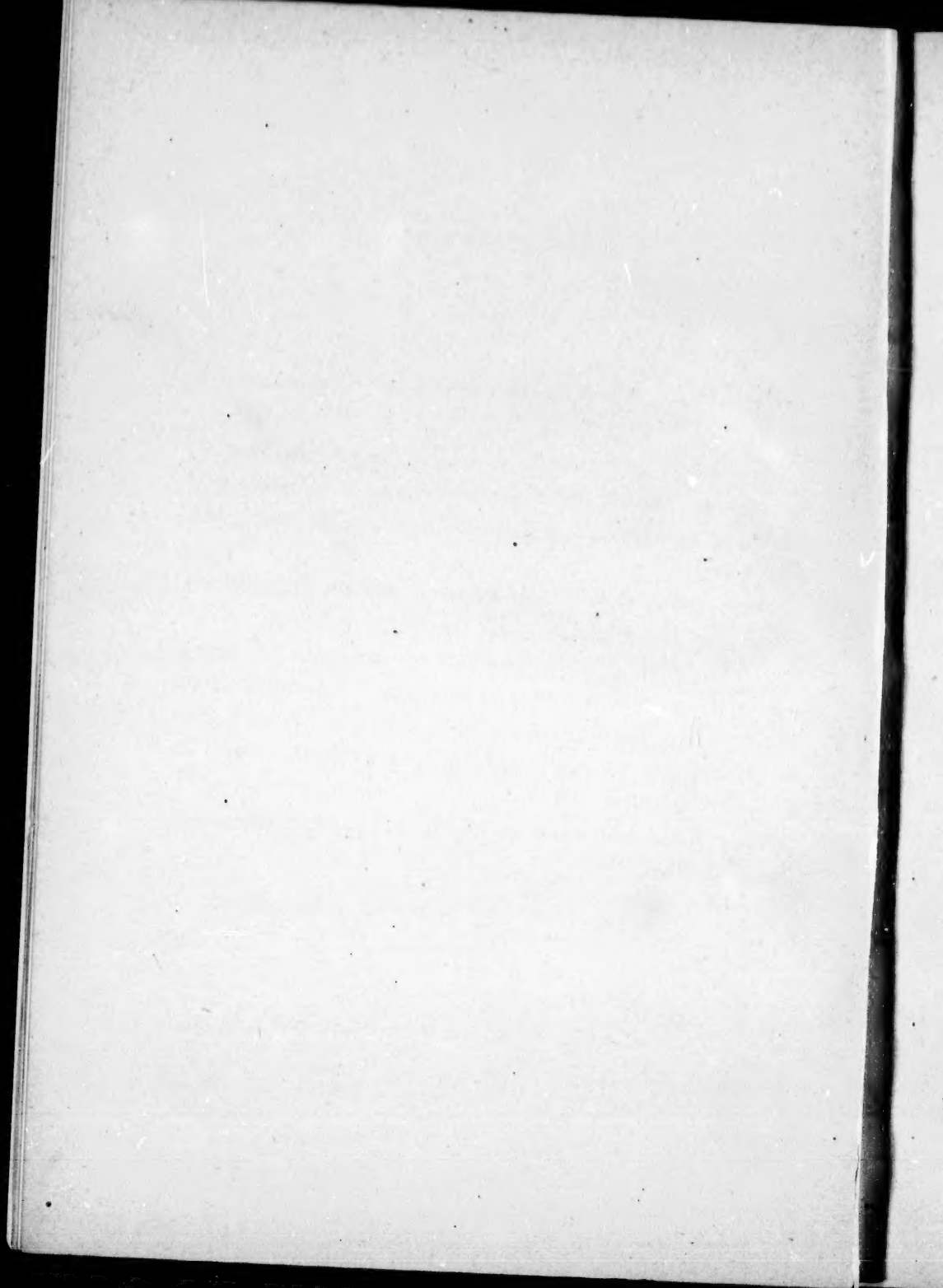
Conformably to a resolution adopted by the Liberal members of the House of Commons last session, a convention of the Liberal party is called, to take place in the City of Ottawa, on the 20th day of June, next.

The Convention shall be composed as follows: Each Electoral District shall be represented by the Liberal member sitting for the same, or the Liberal candidate defeated in the last election held therein, and by five delegates appointed by the Liberal Association of the district. In an Electoral District entitled to elect more than one member the number of delegates to be appointed shall be as many times five as the district returns members.

The Liberal press throughout the land is especially and earnestly invited to attend.

**WILFRID LAURIER.**

ARTHABASKAVILLE, APRIL 10TH.



# DOMINION LIBERAL CONVENTION.

OTTAWA, JUNE 20TH, 1893.

## FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The delegates assembled in Rideau Rink at 3 p.m.

Mr. ALEXANDER McLEAN, Chairman of the Local Committee said: All Liberal members of the Privy Council, Liberal members and ex-members of Parliament are invited to take seats on the platform. There will be no further preliminaries, but at once a resolution will be moved.

Hon. WILFRID LAURIER: Gentlemen: We have the good fortune to have amongst us in this vast audience one who is a veteran in the cause of Reform, who has been associated with all movements that have taken place for the last thirty years for the advancement of the people of Canada, who has been a successful leader of the Liberal party in the banner Province of the Dominion. I submit for your choice as Chairman of this Convention, Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of the Province of Ontario. I may say that this motion is seconded by Hon. Mr. Marchand, leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec. All in favor of that nomination will say "Aye."

The response was unanimous.

I need not ask if there is any opposition, the motion is carried unanimously.

### THE CHAIRMAN'S OPENING SPEECH.

Sir OLIVER MOWAT, on taking the chair, said: Mr. Laurier and gentlemen: I thank you for the great honor you do me in calling on me, and I suppose I may say unanimously, to preside at the great Convention of the Liberals of Canada. I congratulate you, my brother Liberals, that you have chosen for the day so auspicious an occasion as the present; I congratulate you, loyal as I know you all are, that you have selected for this great Convention the anniversary of the accession of our most gracious Queen. I hope that the Reform party may yet be in power as long as Her Majesty has reigned over the British Empire.

There have in my time been important conventions of the Liberals of my own Province, and with good results. The present is the first Convention of the Liberals of all Canada since Confederation. I hope and believe that good results will come of this Convention also, in consolidating the party for its patriotic work, and preparing for victory at the next general election. In this work we have the comfort of knowing that there are good grounds for the hope that, with proper effort on our part meanwhile, the next general election will place at the head of Canada's Federal affairs



the distinguished Canadian who is our cherished Dominion leader, whom all men, without distinction of party or race, admire, whose purity of purpose and conduct all recognize, and who has the well-founded confidence in all respects of the Liberal party. A prospect so hopeful to our country may well animate every one of us to the greatest possible exertion for its realization. The Provinces of the Dominion are bound together by a common Constitution, and a common relation to the Empire whose citizens we are; and the representatives of the Liberal party of every Province have met to-day to take counsel together as to the best devisable policy for the Liberals of all Canada to pursue as a party, in order to the largest practicable prosperity and greatest possible welfare in all respects of every Province of the Dominion, and therein of the Dominion as a whole. Ontario Liberals are not for Ontario only; are we, my friends? (Cries of "No") And Quebec Liberals, though they love Quebec much, are not for Quebec only; is it not so, my brothers of Quebec? (Cries of "It is.") The Liberals of the Maritime Provinces are not for the Maritime Provinces only; am I not right in saying so, my brothers? (Cries of "Right you are") The Liberals of Manitoba and of British Columbia and our Northwest Territories are not for these Provinces and Territories only; is this not so, my brothers who come from these parts? (Cries of "It is.") Yes; all of us from every Province and part of Canada are Canadians, and all of us are bent on doing our best for all Canada. I am glad to know it is so. There is no earthly object more fitting or grander for any people to apply themselves to with profound earnestness and hearty zeal than the common good of their country. It is said to be a glorious thing to die for one's country, and the Canadians of every Province and of every race and creed in it have repeatedly and whenever occasion offered, shown their readiness to hazard their lives in defence of their country. Thanks to them all. But if it is a glorious thing to die for one's country, it is also a glorious thing to live for one's country. Not many of us may ever be called on to die for our country; I hope none of us may; but all of us may live for our country, and in that way may do more for it than by dying for it. We live for our country when we perform with fidelity our duties as its citizens; we live for our country when we take an active, thoughtful interest in procuring for it good government, and in adopting or supporting a beneficial and just policy in the conduct of its public affairs. And, my fellow-Canadians, are not these the objects which have brought us together to-day? It is not the affairs, however interesting and necessary, of a township or a town or a county that we are to deliberate on, but the affairs of half a continent, the affairs of a territory as extensive as the United States of America, and many times more extensive than France or Germany or the British isles. Questions are to occupy the attention of the Convention on which the future of half a continent may depend, and not for a year or two only, but for generations.

Our Country, in the largest sense, is the British Empire, whatever the Nation may have been to us or to any of our ancestors in times that

are past. To most of us one or other of the British islands is the Fatherland. But loyalty is not confined to these; all nationalities in Canada are on a level; all have received the same consideration from the Sovereign and her Imperial advisers and her Parliament. Canadians have no complaints to make of injustice at her hands or at theirs. Our grievances are brought on us by the mistakes of our fellow-Canadians and the wrongdoings of some of them. The result of the Imperial policy and practice towards Canada is, that no line of nationality or of creed or of class distinguishes those amongst us who are attached to the Empire from those who are not. Many, or perhaps all, of even those who look favorably on annexation do not do so from hostility towards the Empire. They are for annexation because they think that the present and future inhabitants of Canada would be better off economically if citizens of the United States than if they were not; and as against their view of the economical results or annexation they do not appreciate the force of considerations which have weight with the rest of us. Even the President of the Continental Union Association has declared himself, and, I doubt not, honestly declared himself, notwithstanding his annexationism, to be "an Englishman to the core." My desire is in what I say to avoid exciting subjects on which we may not be united. But if on such an occasion as this I should say nothing about annexation or British connection, and there should be ascertained to have been some annexationists in the Convention, my silence would be misconstrued by the enemy, and perhaps by others elsewhere, as implying that I had found the sentiment of the Convention to be against me on these subjects, and that for that reason I had said nothing. Such a notion would cause a sufficient stampede from the Reform ranks to make our success at the next general election out of the question. As to the general sentiment regarding British connection, I apprehend that a French-Canadian Roman Catholic archbishop recently spoke the sentiment of Canadians generally, as well as of himself, when in a document for the public he said:—"I was born and reared in the British possessions, and my allegiance is to the Crown of England, and my heart and conscience would repel anything contrary to these obligations. I am a British subject, and am happy to live under the glorious flag of the Empire, and I desire that this noble standard continue to fly and give protection to my co-religionists, as well as to my other fellow-countrymen." These sentences may be read or listened to with satisfaction, whether the drift of the document in other respects is concurred in or not.

It is pleasant to remember here that for nearly 80 years the British Empire has been at peace with all those nations of Europe and America which are represented amongst the Canadian people; and that in the war with Russia, the only European war in which the British nation has been engaged during these 80 years, the brave soldiers of France, from which so many of the Canadian people are descended, fought side by side with no less brave Englishmen and Irishmen and Scotchmen, against a common foe, and fought successfully. Since the war was over it is pleasant from

the-standpoint of humanity, to perceive signs from time to time that, as regards the relations between the two nations and that common foe, the enmities of the war have passed away. But while our country in the supreme sense is the British Empire, and while we heartily appreciate our status as citizens of that Empire, Canada is our country in another sense, and we love it as our country and our home. It is with pride, and with a profound sense of our responsibility as well, that we call to mind the greatness of Canada, and that we think of the greatness which belongs to its future. It is great now in the extent of its territory ; it is great in its resources ; and it is great in fitness for maintaining in comfort and prosperity a vast population. We like to remember that in territorial extent this Canada of ours is about as large as the great Republic south of us, and that if some portions of the territory of that nation have advantages over some portions of ours, other portions of ours have advantages over theirs. It gratifies us as Canadians to reflect that, while Canada is thus as large a country as the United States, it is many times as large as the European territory of any of the great nations of Europe except Russia ; and that it has not far from double the European territory of even Russia. What may not be the greatness of its future.

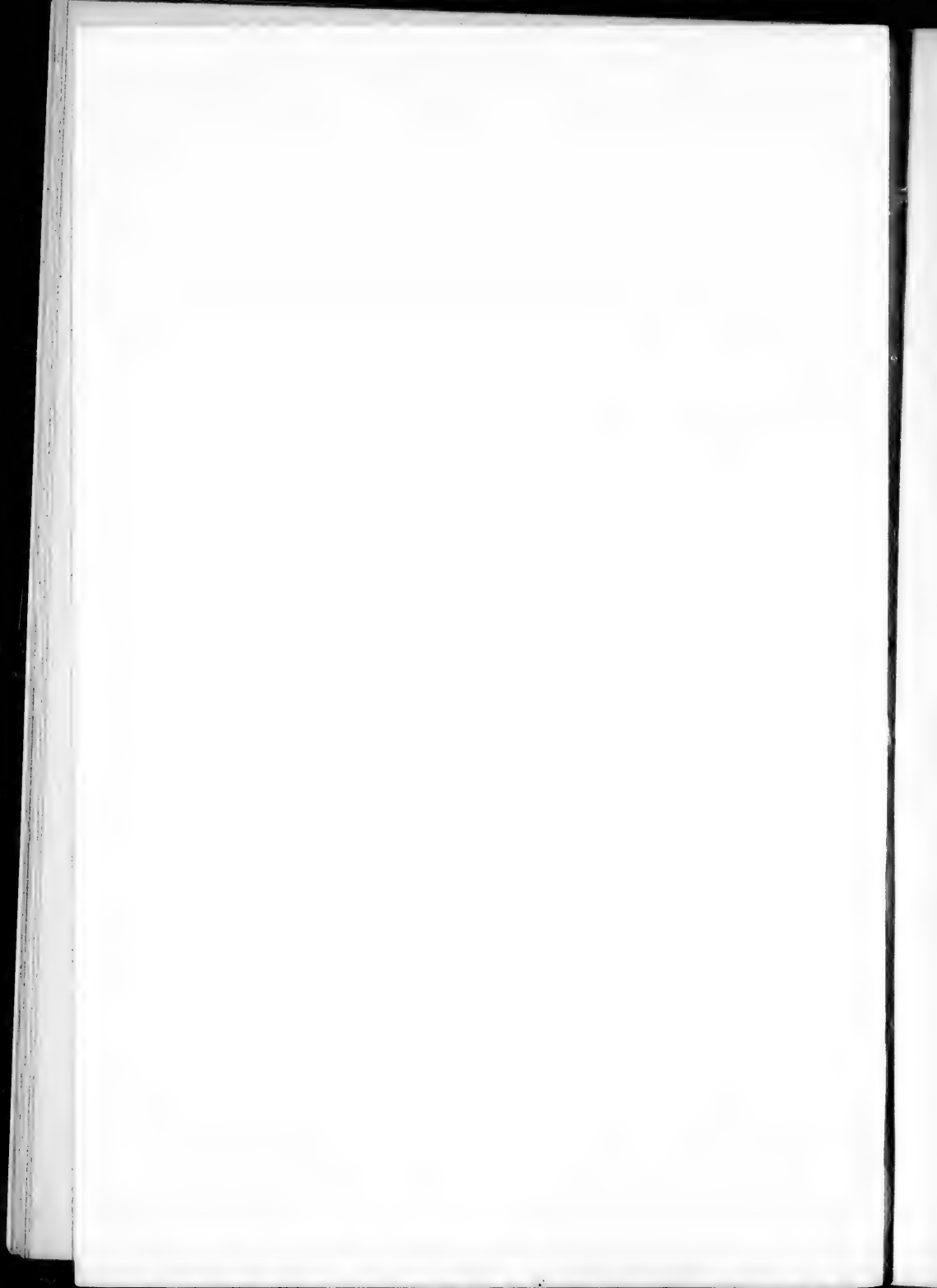
The population of Canada is not quite five millions, according to the last census, but it is somewhat greater than the population of the United States was when those States separated from the parent nation, or for years afterwards ; and it is well worth knowing and bearing in mind that we are in other important respects far ahead of what that population then was. The world has been moving since with gigantic strides, and Canada has been moving with it in spite of all drawbacks. I refer to this, because in considering what we should aim at as a Liberal Convention, it is important that we should be alive to what, in view of actual facts, may be reasonably contemplated as our country's future. Let us remember then, that when the United States, which has now 63,000,000 of people and great wealth, separated from the parent land, and for years afterwards, that nation had not one city with anything like so large a population, or with anything like such developed wealth, as many of our Canadian cities have now reached. I have not seen any statistics of an earlier date than 1790. In that year Philadelphia was the largest city of the United States, and it had a population of (in round numbers) about 42,000 only ; New York had but 32,000 ; Boston had but 18,000 ; and Baltimore had but 13,000 ; and these four were the only cities which had over 10,000. At this day in Canada, instead of four cities, we have no fewer than twenty cities which by the last census had over 10,000 inhabitants. Our city of Montreal alone has a population twice as large as the aggregate populations of what were the four greatest cities of the United States at the time I have mentioned ; and the city of Toronto has a population of nearly twice such aggregate. We have three other cities with each of them a larger population than Philadelphia then had ; we have seven cities with a larger population than New York had ; nine cities with a larger population than Boston

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SIR OLIVER MOWAT, K.C.M.G.,  
PREMIER OF ONTARIO—Chairman of the Convention.



had ; and several more with a larger population than that of Baltimore. Then again, the revenue of the Federal Government in 1790 was about \$4,000,000 only, while ours in the year ending 30th June, 1891, was nearly ten times that figure (or \$38,579,311). The greater part of this sum is obtained from customs and excise duties, and the amount so raised is an enormous amount to take from our people ; but the fact that year after year so great a sum is obtained from Canadian pockets, however to be deprecated, illustrates in a striking way the immensely greater wealth of Canada at the present time than the United States had with about a like population a century ago. Take some further facts :—The imports into that country in 1790 amounted to \$23,000,000 only ; the imports into Canada in the year ending 30th June, 1891, amounted to five times that sum (or \$119,967,638). Their exports in 1790 were \$20,000,000 only ; ours in June, 1891, were nearly six times that amount (or \$119,967,638). In 1790 the United States had but 75 post offices in the whole country ; Canada has 500 times that number, or about 40,000. They had not a single steamboat ; the application of steam to the propulsion of vessels had not been invented ; and while they were consequently without a steamboat they had but few sailing vessels. Canada in 1891 had 1,348 steam and 5,085 sailing vessels. In fact, Canada had in 1891 more sailing vessels and three times more steamboats than even at that date the United States had. Their vessels were larger on the average than ours, but the tonnage owned by their 63,000,000 of people was in 1891 little more than twice the tonnage owned by our 5,000,000 of Canadians. Again, our neighbors had no canals. We have about 80 miles of canals constructed at a cost of \$57,000,000 (\$57,214,292). They had not a mile of railway. Their other roads are described as having been "bad beyond description," and communication was so limited that one stage a week was sufficient communication between any of their cities. I find this statement on the subject of their roads in an article in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, written by a professor of Princeton College, New Jersey :— "The communication between the cities was as bad as could be. The traveller was subject to every danger or annoyance that bad roads, bad carriages, bad horses, bad inns and bad police protection could combine to inflict on him." Many of our Canadian roads might be better than they are, but the average of them is better than the average in the United States at even the present day. While their four millions of population had no railways, our four or five millions have now no less than 14,633 miles of railway. These railways have cost many millions of dollars (the exact figure, which I have seen, is \$816,647,758) ; and instead of one trip by stage in a week, there are many railway trips every day of the week between some of our cities. Further, telegraphing and telephoning were unknown then ; Canada in 1891 had 27,866 miles of telegraph lines and many miles of telephone lines. I wish that a comparison of our public debt to-day with the debt of the United States at the close of the last century was equally satisfactory from the Canadian standpoint. I observe



that the net amount of the debt of Canada in June, 1891, is stated at \$237,809,030. The largeness of the amount shows at all events that our credit in the English market has been good, if we cannot truly say that all the money borrowed was well spent, or that all the debt was reasonably and properly incurred, or if we cannot boast about the amount otherwise. Let me mention one other significant fact before I drop my comparisons. At the period at which I am comparing our present condition with the United States, that nation had not a single bank or a dollar of bank capital; while I observe that Canada had in 1891 paid up bank capital of nearly \$60,000,000 (or more exactly \$59,567,765), and the assets of its banks amounted to four times that amount and more (or, to speak precisely, \$269,491,153). Many other comparisons to the same effect might be stated. In connection with all these facts it is also interesting to know that the shortest route for passengers and freight between America and Europe is from or through Canada.

Such facts as I have mentioned show in part what Canada has accomplished while reaching its population in 1891 of 4,832,679, as compared with the condition of the United States when they had a like population. They show how enormously in all those elements and indications of comfort and prosperity which these facts suggest our four or five millions of people are (in spite of mistakes) ahead of those four millions that a century ago formed the nucleus of the nation now owning the other half of North America, and having now a population of 63,000,000. While we are at peace with them, our having those 63,000,000 of people on our borders to trade with, so far as we do trade with them, is a further advantage in our favor as compared with the Americans of the last century. Why, in view of all such facts, should not a century do as much for Canada as a century has done for our neighbors? May it not do more? The resources of Canada for the purposes of agriculture and commerce are immense, and are unsurpassed by any competitor. We have probably the finest forests in the world and the richest fisheries; our country abounds in minerals, too; we have treasures of coal and iron and copper and silver and gold and nickel. Two-thirds of the wheat area of North America are in Canada. We have climate and soil specially adapted for raising the best wheat, the best barley, the best horses and the best cattle in the world, and for producing the best cheese. At the world's exhibitions of London and Philadelphia and Paris and Chicago, Canada has held its own, as respects its principal exhibits, in competition with all the nations of the earth. More important in our favor, however, than all I have mentioned, is the acknowledged fact that our climate, with all its varieties, is specially adapted for developing an active and a hardy race of men and women. Canadians who, either in mature life or in early manhood, go to the United States as affording a larger field for their activity, compete successfully there in every walk of life with natives of that country who have had like advantages of education and otherwise. There is no future among the nations which such a country as Canada is may not attain, if only her

sons, whatever their origin or their birth, continue true sons of our dear Canada, and pursue as its citizens the path of righteousness and patriotism. We admire the energy of our neighbors as a people, and we admire the success that they have accomplished in almost every department of activity to which they have applied themselves. Most, if not all of us, may be against political union with them, but we all respect them as a nation, and esteem very many of their people.

None will infer from my mentioning the facts of which I have been reminding you, that I want you to believe the time to have come when Canada may safely or properly part politically from the Empire of which it forms part, and set up as a separate nation; as under different conditions and circumstances the other British American colonies did 120 years ago. Nor, on the other hand, am I at present speaking of Canada's greatness as being a reason against giving up the country and annexing it to the neighboring nation; that subject I have discussed more than once elsewhere. My reason for now speaking of Canada's greatness, and of what, in spite of obstacles and mistakes, it has accomplished hitherto, is that, in view of the object of this immense gathering of representative Liberals from all parts of the Dominion, it is fitting, as I have already suggested, and may be useful, at the outset of our deliberations, to call to mind the greatness of the country, the affairs of which, in the highest earthly sense, this grand assembly has come together to confer about. This country belongs to us as Canadians; its laws are made and administered by Canadians; and its Constitution is the Constitution which 29 years ago Canadians by their representatives prepared, and asked for; and which they got for the asking, as they may get whatever other changes in that Constitution they from time to time hereafter desire. The whole management and development of this great country are in the hands of the Canadian people; and for its Constitution and Government and welfare, present and future, the Canadians of the present day are responsible. Let us bear in mind all these facts while we are deliberating on what is in the power and what belongs to the present duty of the Liberal party.

With such a country as Canada is, and with such promise as it presents, and with such a population as occupies it, and with such a history as belongs to it, why has there been so much depression in it of late years, and why is there still so much amongst important sections of our people? Why has there been, and why does there continue to be, such an exodus of our native population of all the old Provinces, others not coming from outside to take the places of those who go? Liberals think that they see and know some of the principal causes, and that they are removable causes; and we have come together to confer on their removal. For this purpose matters of organization are of essential importance to our success, and will receive your earnest attention. But since we have come together, our plan of campaign must, I suppose, embrace also some formal statement or declaration of principles and contemplated measures. What shall it be?

So far as I know, the Liberals of Canada have hitherto been pretty

generally agreed as to the principal matters which, in the interest of the people of this great country, most need present attention. In addition to these, there are other important questions which are exciting the interest of large sections of our people, and may be brought before us to-day. Some at least of these questions it would be impossible for us to unite upon, either affirmatively or negatively; and they must be open questions, or union and success are impossible. The party must be content with a platform which meanwhile leaves such questions out, or the party can carry nothing, nor get from the electorate a position which would enable them to carry anything. I do not say this is so with every important question not hitherto embraced in the platform of the Liberal party. Those matters which our honored leaders and representatives in Dominion affairs and our public journals have for some years been pressing on public attention with ability and perseverance have been so well chosen that they are now recognized as just and right, and in the country's interest, not by Liberals only, but also by many who are not of the Liberal party. I hope that we shall secure these measures at all events. Foremost of them are a reformed tariff. Next is reciprocity of trade with our neighbors, if we can obtain such reciprocity on fair and honorable terms. This, there is reason to believe, a Liberal Government could do. Reciprocity restricted to the natural products of the two countries is unattainable, but our neighbors know that Liberals are willing that the reciprocity should not be restricted to the natural products of the two countries, but should include such manufactures also as may be agreed upon. Liberals believe such an arrangement to be practicable, unless our neighbors should be misled into supposing the majority of Canadians want reciprocity so badly that they will consent to any terms, and even to annexation, rather than not have it. It is not correct that Canadians in general are prepared to buy reciprocity at the price of annexation, or at any other price which may appear to them to be too exacting, or may be otherwise distasteful. But Liberals, in general, believe that a fair measure of reciprocity, not restricted to natural products, would be an advantage, not to Canada alone, but to both countries. They believe that it is quite practicable to convince statesmen of this, the statesmen of the United States as well as those of Canada, and that many of them are already convinced of it. Some anxious loyalists fear that more intimate trade relations with our neighbors would lead to political union, and they on that account oppose reciprocity. An opposite view is taken by some United States statesmen and public journalists, who argue that reciprocity would delay or wholly prevent political union; and these are for that reason against reciprocity, and are endeavoring to prejudice their fellow-citizens against it. On the other hand, those Canadian loyalists who, like most of us here, favor reciprocity, believe and hope that it would have no effect either way on any question of political union; and having that hope and faith, we do not think it consistent with duty or patriotism to refuse acceptance of such a measure if attainable. On many other subjects of prime importance to the country,

the Liberals of the Dominion are also agreed. We are agreed as to the iniquity of the wastefulness which there has been in the management of federal affairs during the last fifteen years, and which is likely to continue as long as the present Government continues. We therefore do not want that Government to continue. We are agreed as to the duty and the importance of conducting the business of the Federal Government on business principles, which for party objects the Federal Government has in so many ways disregarded, to the injury of the country, and the demoralization alike of members of Parliament, of contractors for public works, and of officers of the Government. We want to save our country from any further such injury. We are agreed as to the iniquity of such gerrymandering of the constituencies, and as to the iniquity and inconvenience of such a Franchise Act, as disgrace the Dominion statute book. We want to have respectable and just measures substituted for the Acts now in force on these subjects. We are agreed as to the necessity of a fundamental reformation of the Senate, if for any reason a Senate must be or should be retained. The Senate, as now constituted, is the weakest point in our Constitution. All Liberals, or nearly all, want to have reform in the Senate. We are agreed as to various other matters. If the policy of the Liberal party on the subjects named, and other subjects, has not got for it the votes of members who were elected as Conservatives, it is quite certain that that policy has at all events the actual approval of some of them, and has gained, and is gaining, the favor of many Conservatives in the constituencies. Multitudes are now in favor of trade reform who were not in its favor until recently. Many are against the waste of public money which has been going on in the Dominion. Many acknowledge the indefensibility of the Gerrymandering Act; disapprove strongly of the Franchise Act; and admit that the Senate needs reform in some such direction as is claimed by the Liberal party. These opinions of old opponents in the constituencies cannot but tell at the general election, if Liberals are but active and diligent and prudent (as I am sure they will be) in the Liberal campaign.

In connection with the Liberal platform, one thing which I am certain of is, that we all are alive to the importance of party unity, and to the applicability to our case of the old maxim that "United we stand, and divided we fall." Even united, the Liberal party has not in fifteen years been able to dislodge the protection party from power, notwithstanding all their misdeeds. That party adopted the policy of protection as the principal plank in their platform for the general election of 1878. The general depression at that time in Canada, in common with the rest of the world, unfortunately disposed our people to try almost any political experiment from which there seemed any chance of relief; and the policy of protection proved a fortunate piece of party tactics for the political party that adopted it, however disastrous to the best interests of the country in the long run. But the end appears now to have come. Our neighbors south of us have just dislodged their protection party, and there is every prospect of our having a like success at our next general election. But for this pur-

pose the Liberal party must be united. We must endeavor to retain present supporters, and go on adding to the number from without. This Convention may be asked to consider whether for this purpose the Liberal party should confine itself for the present to its present platform, which we probably all agree to be in the main a good platform as far as it goes, and whether therefore the Convention should recommend it without any change; or whether some modification should be made in regard to any of its planks; or whether there should be added some new planks. All such proposals are to be weighed from every standpoint. On the one hand, important, beneficial improvements are not to be hastily rejected, and, on the other hand, we can none of us forget the danger of "swapping horses while crossing a river." We are now in the river; we want to get to the other bank; we have a fair prospect of getting there as we are, and it might perhaps be serious for us to swap horses while on our way; but that is for the Convention to consider and determine.

We all hope that the general election will result in the formation of a Liberal administration under the premiership of our distinguished Chief. This administration will have the opportunity of crystallizing into the law and into the constitution and into executive action the respective matters, which, so far, Liberals have agreed about and contended for as a party. In doing that work first, if for the present we can do no more, a grand work will have been done towards promoting the prosperity of our country and securing its future welfare. Further reforms in all directions may follow. I hope, and from what I know or have learned of those who compose this Convention, I not only hope but I expect, that in considering the subjects which may be brought before you the Convention will prove itself a model Convention of earnest and thoughtful Liberals; and that many will go home from the Convention with their political faith strengthened and their political zeal quickened; that we all shall be stronger Liberals and sounder and more hopeful Canadians for having been here; that we shall be more united politically than ever before; and that after the next general election it may be truly said by the whole country that it was at the Liberal Convention at Ottawa in June, 1893, that protection and bad government and consequent political unrest among our people received their death blow. It is fifteen years since Canadians for the sake of the protection experiment, withdrew their support from the best of governments under the premiership of an excellent man, an able statesman, a noble patriot and a pure politician, the universally lamented Alexander Mackenzie. As Canadians, lovers of Canada, and desiring for it the best possible fortune, we could not wish for Canada to-day anything better than a Government of another fifteen years and more, like that of Mr. Mackenzie; or than a Government would be, we know, if under the premiership of our distinguished and esteemed Dominion Chief, with some of his able coadjutors in the two Houses of Parliament as his colleagues. Canada greatly needs such a Government. May its accession to office be soon, and may its tenure of office be long.

## ORGANIZATION—APPOINTING SECRETARIES.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND, M.P., North Oxford:—In accordance with the wish of our leader, who called this meeting, asking representative men from all parts of the Dominion to meet him here and advise with him on matters of importance to the party and the country, no programme has been made out and no rules for governing this meeting. No cut-and-dried resolutions have been prepared to present to the meeting. That being the case, I must appeal to you gentlemen who are met here to-day to get down to business at once. We have here a great gathering of men from all parts of the Dominion, no doubt holding, in many cases, different views with regard to matters that will come before the Convention; therefore you will see the importance and necessity of at once proceeding to organize. The matter is left in your own hands, but unless you speedily adopt some system of organization you cannot satisfactorily carry on the business of this great Convention. My suggestion is that we should, as soon as possible, elect men in whom we have confidence from different parts of the Dominion to shape our organization so that we may proceed satisfactorily and with some continuity. I will take this opportunity, Mr. Chairman, so that we may proceed at once to business, of submitting to the meeting the names of a couple of gentlemen whose reputation for integrity and business ability throughout the Dominion fits them to act as secretaries of the Convention. I would move as general secretaries, Mr. C. S. Hyman, ex-M.P., London, and Mr. Dêchene, M.P.P., L'Islet. As there will be a great deal of clerical work, and as there will be many matters of detail to be attended to, I would move that Mr. W. D. Balfour, M.P.P., South Essex, be appointed assistant secretary. This resolution is seconded by Dr. Guay, M.P. for Levis.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

## ELECTION OF VICE-CHAIRMEN—NOVA SCOTIA.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: One of the most pleasing, as it is one of the most important, features of this great Convention is the fact that on this occasion for the first time, so far as my memory extends, we have succeeded in bringing together a number of representatives, not merely from one single Province but from every Province of this Dominion. Sir, it is our pleasure to see with us leaders of the Liberal party from every part of the country. Besides the Premier of Ontario, whom you have so wisely and worthily selected as Chairman of this Convention, we have with us no less than three other Premiers of three Liberal Governments in this Dominion, and at least two representatives from one of the most important, if not the most important Province that remains. Now, Sir, if it were merely for the fact of the presence of these three gentlemen wholly irrespective of their official position, their well known ability, their well known experience, their well known knowledge of public affairs would lend strength to any party with

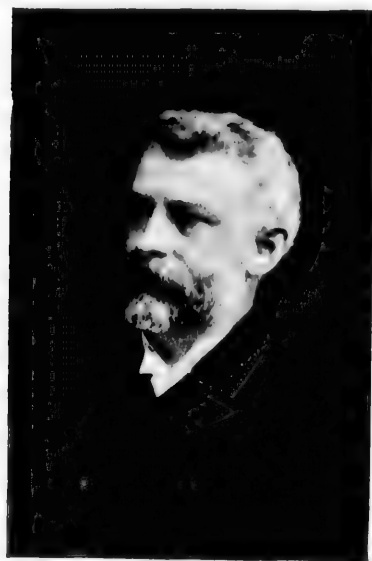


which they might be associated. In the presence, as I have said, of four Premiers of Provinces of this Dominion and of the representatives of another important Province, you have, to my mind, as good a proof as you could desire of the fact that in a fair field and with no favor, where we are not weighted down by impudent frauds or by still worse corruptions, the Liberal party would hold its own in political contests. And it is, perhaps, as well that our own attention as well as the attention of our Conservative friends, who have been deluding themselves with the idea that the Liberal party is dead and may be trampled upon, should be called to these facts. I desire for one to emphasize the fact of these gentlemen's presence and the desirability of associating with my friend from Ontario as one of the vice-chairmen, my friend Mr. Fielding, the Premier of Nova Scotia. Not to detain you, I beg to move, seconded by Hon. David Ross, that Hon. W. S. Fielding, Premier, of Nova Scotia, be associated with yourself, Mr. Chairman, as one of the vice-chairmen.

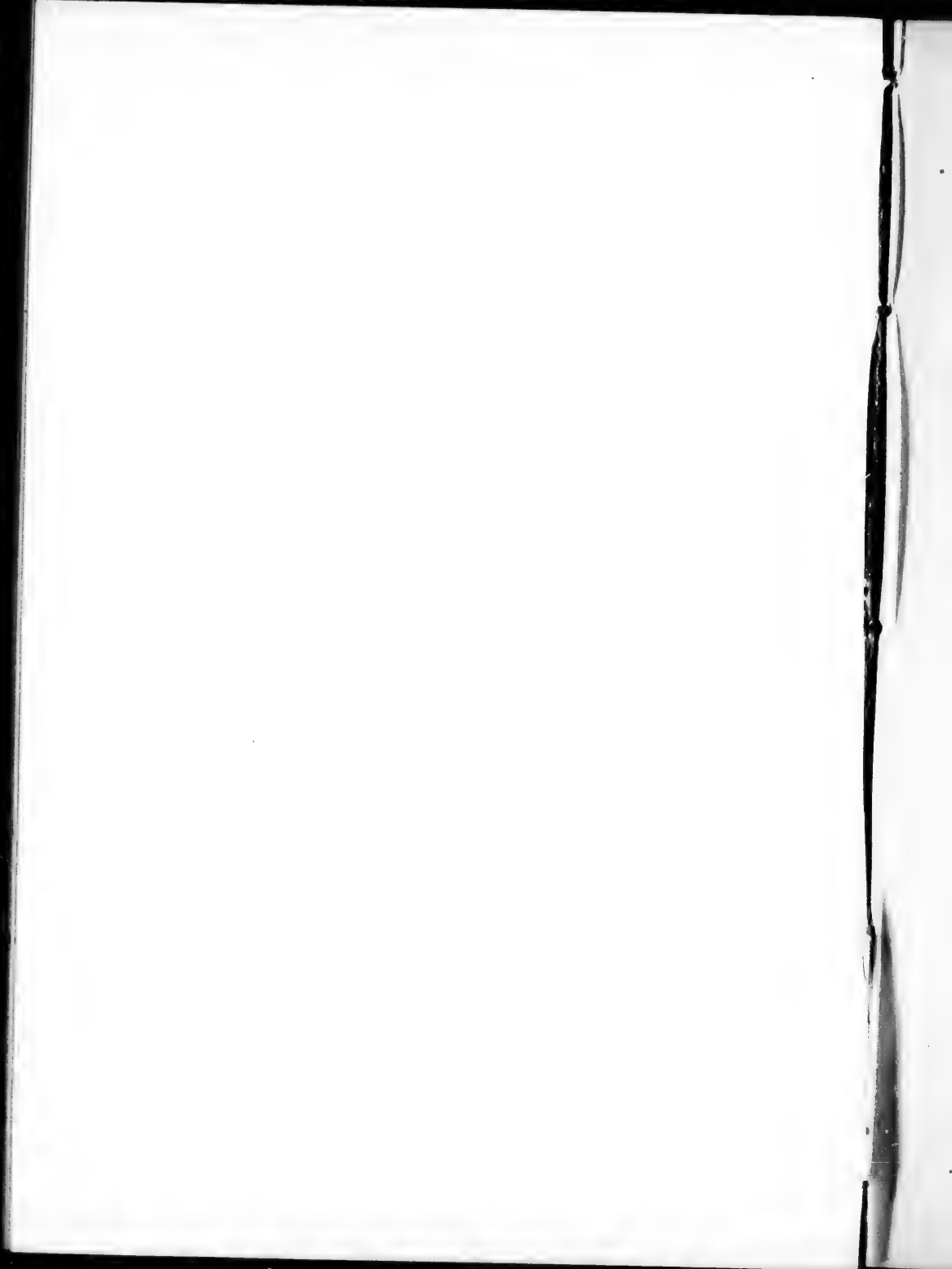
Hon. DAVID ROSS :—I have great pleasure in seconding this motion made by one who has been the tried and trusted lieutenant of our leader, Mr. Mackenzie, and who will be a tower of strength to the coming Government of Premier Laurier.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : It would be a great misfortune if I should be tempted at this stage to make a speech and each of the other Vice-Presidents who are appointed should do likewise ; therefore in order that I may not set a bad example I shall be very brief. I have to thank you for the high honor you have done me, and through me, the Province I represent, in having named me as one of the vice-presidents of this great Liberal Convention. I desire to endorse most cordially the wise words of counsel with which our President concluded his address, when he warned us that we must be careful, that we must not permit ourselves to be divided; There are great questions upon which we hope to unite, upon which we know we can unite. There are others upon which there are differences of opinion, and upon these we must have liberty to differ. In a Liberal party at least—perhaps not so fully in a Tory party—there must be the fullest liberty of independent judgment. But we must realize the responsibility which that liberty brings. While we should take care that there is no attempt to impose upon the Convention any cut-and-dried resolutions, while we maintain the right of the freest discussion, we should also take care that we exercise our liberty prudently, so that we may unite our party for the great contest that is not far from us. There is something in the day of our meeting which is more than a mere coincidence, more than a happy accident. This date (Tuesday, the 20th of June) is a date of some significance to the Liberals in the Province of Nova Scotia. It was on Tuesday, the 20th day of June, eleven years ago, that I first had the honor of being elected a member of the Provincial Parliament. That is a mere personal reminiscence. But there is more than that. It was on Tuesday, the 20th day of June, eleven years ago, that we Nova



**HON. W. S. FIELDING,**  
PREMIER OF NOVA SCOTIA—Vice-Chairman of the Convention and Chairman  
of Committee on Resolutions.



Scotia Liberals defeated the Conservative administration and placed in power a Liberal Government which has held its place down to the present date. Well, what of that? That is a mere Provincial reminiscence, with which perhaps you are not concerned. But there is one point more in which you may be interested. The Government that was thus defeated on Tuesday, the 20th day of June, 1882, was led by a distinguished Nova Scotian in whom you have some interest, for he was no other than the present Prime Minister of Canada. It is more than a happy incident, it is an augury and an inspiration to united and determined action, that on the anniversary of the day when Sir John Thompson's Government was defeated in Nova Scotia, the Liberals of Canada at large have come together to formulate a policy and arrange an organization which is to defeat at an early day the Federal Government led by the same gentleman.

#### ELECTION OF VICE-CHAIRMEN—QUEBEC.

HON. A. G. JONES, Halifax:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The very pleasant duty has been entrusted to me of naming a gentleman for associate vice-president of this Convention, and that pleasure, I assure you, has been very largely enhanced by the fact that the gentleman whose name I am to announce is one in whom the Liberals of the Dominion at large take the liveliest interest and the greatest pride. I refer to our worthy and honorable friend, Hon H. G. Joly, of Quebec. This resolution is seconded by Mr. C. W. Weldon, ex-M.P., St. John. Our friend, Mr. Joly, as you are well aware, has been engaged in all the political contests in that grand historic Province of Quebec for many years, and he has done the Liberal party great service during the long course of his public career. It is therefore fitting and proper, that his name should be associated with the names of the leading men who control the public affairs in the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, headed by our venerable friend the Chairman, Sir Oliver Mowat. Mr. Chairman, you will find that Mr. Joly and the other gentlemen who are to assist you in the chair are gentlemen whose names command the attention and the confidence of the Liberals of this Dominion and, assisted as you will be by their ability and their experience, I have no doubt that the proceedings of this Convention will not only be harmonious, but that they will tend to consolidate the interests of the Liberals from one end of the Dominion to the other. The Liberals of this Dominion, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, have had a hard fight for the last thirteen or fourteen years, since, under our old and revered friend, Mr. Mackenzie, who has now gone to his long rest, they preferred to sacrifice office and their own emoluments rather than to sacrifice the principles in which they believed. The country at that time was suffering from ills which such political medicos as Dr. Tupper and others of that day attributed to a Liberal administration, and they went to the country declaring that if you would dismiss the Mackenzie administration and put them in power, they would introduce a system that would enrich every man throughout the Dominion, multiply manufactures, increase the population,

add to our wealth, and make us a prosperous, happy, and contented people. The country has had fifteen years of Tory rule and we find that from one end of this Dominion to the other, the cry is going up that this Government is absorbing the earnings of the people and turning a large portion of them into the pockets of the protected classes, and everywhere the people demand a change of Government and a return to the principles which the Liberals have advocated and under which alone the people of this country may expect permanent prosperity. As I came along in the train the other day I met four of my old colleagues, who, with myself, formed part of that administration, five of us members of the old band which stood by Mr. Mackenzie on that occasion. Seeing them, though older in years and less active in the political world, yet still earnest in the cause for which they then contended, I was reminded of those historic words spoken upon a historic occasion, "The old guard dies but never surrenders." No, Sir; we never surrender, for we advocate the same principles which we fought for of old, and we believe that the moment is auspicious for carrying them to victory. I have great pleasure in moving that the Hon. Mr. Joly, be one of the associate Vice-Presidents of this Convention.

Mr. C. W. WELDON, ex-M.P., St. John:—I am glad to have the opportunity of seconding the nomination as vice-president of one whose name has been such a source of strength to the Liberal party in Quebec and throughout the Dominion.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Hon. H. G. JOLY de Lotbiniere, Quebec:—I am completely taken by surprise at the honor you have done me. Though withdrawn from public life for a good many years, I never forget that I am a Liberal, and it is gratifying to see that you have not forgotten me. I am grateful to you for the honor you have done me, and hope to be still able to render some service to the Liberal cause. I sincerely hope that this meeting will result in the greatest good to our country and the greatest honor to our party.

Hon. Mr. Joly then repeated his remarks in French.

#### ELECTION OF VICE-CHAIRMEN—NEW BRUNSWICK.

Dr. F. W. BORDEN, M.P., Kings, N.S.:—While I recognize the fact that there is no man in Canada less in need of assistance or advice than yourself, Mr. Chairman, I am in sympathy with the idea that has been put forward here that the other Premiers and the leading men in the Local Governments of this country should have a share in the meeting, and, as there is safety in numbers, I have to suggest the name of another gentleman to be added to the list of vice-presidents, one not less distinguished and not less able than those already proposed. I refer to Hon. A. G. Blair, Premier of the Province of New Brunswick, and I beg to move that he be one of the vice-presidents of this Convention, the resolution to be seconded by Hon. Senator Pelletier. One word more. We cannot be blind to-day to the signs of the times. Never in Canada, either before Confederation or since, would it have been possible to bring together such an assemblage as

we have to-day from the remotest portions of the Dominion. I believe we have here representatives from almost every district in Canada. I know that gentlemen are here from the easternmost counties in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. We have here the leading members of the Provincial Governments of many of the Provinces of the Dominion, men who have held office for many years, the most successful politicians and the ablest men. They have been in sympathy with the principles of the Liberal party, as we know for many years, but I believe that they have never before come so prominently before the country to assist the Liberal party of this Dominion to turn out of power the corrupt Government that at present holds office. I do not wish to detract from the good motives of our honorable friends in coming here, but their presence I hold to be a sign of the times. They are in touch with public feeling and public sentiment; they have been successful in gaining and in holding office. And they are here to-day, because, in a sense, they are compelled by the force of public opinion to be here. I have much pleasure in proposing Mr. Blair, as one of the vice-presidents of this Association.

Hon. C. A. P. PELLETIER, Senator:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am taken by surprise in being called upon to speak to you to-day, because it was understood that no speeches would be made in nominating vice-presidents. I shall not depart from the rule except to express my acknowledgements of the honor done me in calling upon me to address you. There is no need of an endorsement on my part of Hon. Mr. Blair as vice-president, but I have much pleasure in seconding the motion, because Mr. Blair is so well known, and because he has done so much good service for the Liberal party, and for these reasons, I am sure, you will heartily approve the nomination.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Hon. Mr. Pelletier repeated his remarks in French.

Hon. A. G. BLAIR, Premier of New Brunswick:—Let me, in the first place, thank you, as I do most cordially for the distinguished honor you have conferred upon me and upon the Province I have the honor to represent. I do not wish to be understood, Mr. Chairman, as subscribing to the correctness of the inference which Dr. Borden has drawn as to the reasons why the different Provinces have been represented in such force by members of their respective Governments. I do not wish you to infer that, because I am not going to express my dissent from that proposition he is correct in his statement as respects our motives. I have long, or perhaps I ought to say, I have for some years past, had a very strong feeling that it would be in the interest of the Liberal party of Canada and therefore in the interest of Canada itself, that a representative gathering should be convened from all sections of the Dominion to meet in council together and deliberate upon and set before the country in explicit terms what was the policy of the party. I do not feel that in this way I and those who share my views manifested the slightest want of confidence in the ability or in authority of the gentlemen who represented us at Ottawa to put the plat-



form of the party before the country, but I did feel that such a meeting would strengthen the party and would give an impetus to the Liberal cause in the Dominion which it had not previously received. Believing that, I have not hesitated to put myself in communication with the leader of the party on this question. I very well knew that there were difficulties which now and then surround conventions of this character, but I had faith in the judgment, the discretion, and the patriotism of the Liberals of Canada which led me to believe that they would not allow dissensions to arise, that though they might have strong opinions on many questions, yet with a view to presenting a solid front for the next campaign—and how long before that may be neither you nor I can tell—we should lay aside our differences and unite in putting forward the strong, important issues upon which we are united and asking the acceptance of our policy by the people of Canada. I am not going to ask you to listen to anything that I can say at this stage of the proceedings. We have met for the transaction of business, and I am heartily glad indeed to have had it put forward on no less authority than that of the Chairman of the Committee that the people are here to determine what the policy shall be and put it before the country of their own free will. The matter is to be left to the people. I am glad of that, and I hope there will be a nominating committee of some sort, and that that committee may select, say twenty or thirty representative men from each section, men of experience and judgment, the large committee to meet and agree upon the resolutions to be put forward to the Convention. The committee ought to be fifty or sixty in numbers and I would not even limit it to that. Let this committee deliberate upon the resolutions laid before them and report to the Convention, and the Convention itself will then deal with them as it thinks best in the interest of the country and the interest of the party. I again thank you sincerely, gentlemen, for the distinguished honor you have conferred upon me.

#### ELECTION OF VICE-CHAIRMEN—PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

HON. ROBERT WATSON, Commissioner of Public Works, Manitoba:—  
Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: As a representative of the West, the honor has been conferred upon me of nominating a vice-chairman from the East. It was stated by Sir Richard Cartwright, in moving the appointment of the first vice-chairman that he thought it advisable to appoint a number of chairmen to keep this meeting in order, and as I believe the Province of Prince Edward Island have a large delegation here, and, knowing some of the members from that Province, I think it necessary that some person who knows their peculiarities should be selected as one of the vice-chairmen. I have pleasure, therefore, in moving that Hon. Fred Peters, Premier of Prince Edward Island, be elected associate chairman of this Convention. I am sure it must be a matter of congratulation to all Liberals present, especially to gentlemen who occupy a position on this platform and who have been fighting the battles of the party for years, it must be gratifying to Mr. Laurier, our leader, to see so many people

gathered, not to make a new platform, but to declare the principles we uphold, and to organize for the purpose of making those principles triumphant at the next general election. I do not think this gathering is for the purpose of speech-making, but I was thinking while sitting here and looking over this audience, that it would be hard to find a finer body of people assembled than we have here to-day. I think that Mr. Laurier exercised his usual good judgment in making Ottawa the place of meeting. I have a suggestion to make. No doubt you will take the opportunity to see the capital and especially to inspect the Parliament Buildings, that handsome pile of buildings belonging to us as the people of Canada. I have no doubt you will be pleased with their appearance. I would suggest to the chief representatives from each section, that they should go to the Parliament buildings and select their seats to the right of the Speaker, for I have no doubt in my own mind that we are on the right track to win those seats in the next election. I have no doubt that the numbers that have met here to-day and the enthusiasm displayed indicate a coming victory for our party.

Hon. L. G. POWER, Halifax :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I have much pleasure indeed in seconding the motion moved by my honorable friend from Manitoba. It affords me peculiar pleasure to second this resolution with regard to the honorable Premier of Prince Edward Island. In 1878 we held but one Province, that was the Province of Ontario. Somehow, Mr. Chairman, you could not be dislodged. The enemy captured all the other Local Governments; that of Ontario they could not capture.

A voice :—And never will.

Hon. Mr. POWER :—But we won back the outlying fortresses one by one. First the Province of Nova Scotia, then Manitoba, and the other day our friend, Mr. Peters, gained the Province of Prince Edward Island. There remains only the Province of British Columbia. I think that after the next general election the Provincial and Dominion Governments will all be harmonious, but in a different way from what they were in 1878. The Province of Prince Edward Island is the smallest of the Dominion, but it is one which any member should be proud to represent. It is a Province which has done better for us in the Dominion Parliament than any other. For over eleven years it has sent a Liberal majority to Parliament; and in the last Parliament we had a solid delegation from that Province. Through some mishap we lost two members in the last election, but these will be regained when an appeal is next made to the people.

The motion was carried unanimously

Hon. FRED PETERS, Premier of Prince Edward Island :—I did not expect when I came to Ottawa more than to have the opportunity of looking upon this grand Convention, which in my opinion would have been sufficient reward even for a person travelling so far as I have travelled to see it. We have been told that the Liberal party is almost a dead party. We came up here to see whether that was true or not, and what we have

seen and heard shows us that there is life in the old dog yet, shows that the Liberal party is still ready and willing to fight a battle which we hope on this occasion will be successful. It has been said, I thought a little meanly by my friend from Nova Scotia, Senator Power, who has kindly seconded my nomination, that Prince Edward Island is the smallest Province of the Dominion. But it has often been said that the most valuable goods are done up in the smallest parcels. I have to remind you that we stand alone amongst the Provinces of the Dominion, in being able to say that in the last Parliament we did not have one single blot of Toryism on our political map. We returned every man to support the Liberal party. We were not so successful in the last election, though our record was still a good one. But we hope that, now that we are able to go back and tell the farmers of Prince Edward Island that the farmers of Ontario are in accord with them and have come here to say so, our little Island may be able to do what it did the election before last, and send every man elected to support the Liberal party. I thank you most heartily for the great honor you have conferred upon me by giving me the position of Assistant Chairman of this Convention.

#### ELECTION OF VICE CHAIRMEN—MANITOBA.

Hon. J. W. LONGLEY, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia :—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen : I think you will agree with me that we must have just one more vice-chairman to round out the number and that he must come from the Province which has not yet received representation by the election of preceding officers. I think it will be a matter of universal regret amongst us that Hon. Mr. Greenway, Premier of Manitoba, has not been able to be present. But, I hope and I know that, though not present with us in person, he is with us in spirit, and is prepared to co-operate cordially with us for the advancement of the great cause which has brought us together. Though Mr. Greenway is not here, I am very happy to be able to announce that two very distinguished members of his Government are present, and I would propose that one of them, Hon. Clifford Sifton, Attorney-General, be vice-president representing the Province of Manitoba. If I cared to say anything, which I do not at this late hour of the afternoon, I would say that in my opinion there is peculiar fitness in this resolution being proposed by one from the far east seeing that the beneficiary is from the west. It is gratifying in the presence of such a large and representative gathering as we have here to-day, to feel and know that, from the extreme east, where the waves of the Atlantic have our boundaries to the extreme west, there is not an inch of soil, not represented by men prepared to co-operate with others for the common purpose of placing the Liberal party in the position it ought to occupy in guiding the destinies of this great Dominion.

Hon. DAVID LAIRD, Prince Edward Island :—I have much pleasure in seconding the nomination of Mr. Sifton as Vice-President for Manitoba. As Mr. Watson, of Manitoba, has proposed a vice-chairman from Prince

Edward Island it becomes my duty to return the compliment, and, as a representative of Prince Edward Island to propose a vice-president from Manitoba. And not only as a representative of Prince Edward Island do I make this proposition, but being myself so long identified with the North-West, I have much pleasure in seeing Manitoba so well represented. I regret that my dear North-West Territories are not better represented at this meeting.

The Chairman:—All in favor of this resolution will signify their assent by saying "aye." The vote being taken the Chairman said, I declare the resolution carried.

#### AN INVITATION.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND, M.P., North Oxford:—Mr. Sifton is not present at the moment to respond, he will be here soon. The following letter has been sent to the Convention:

THE OTTAWA ELECTRIC STREET RAILWAY CO., (LIMITED).

OTTAWA, 20th June, 1893.

H. A. BATE, Esq.,

Secretary Reform Association,

Ottawa, Ont.

DEAR SIR,—We would be pleased to have the company of the members of the Reform Convention now in session in this city at the opening of the Rockliffe extension of our Electric Railway service on Thursday forenoon. Should they favor us with such, arrangements can be made for time of leaving the Langevin Block and tickets issued for distribution at to-morrow evening's session of your Convention.

Awaiting your reply,

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

J. W. McRAE,

President.

#### AN OPEN CONVENTION—PRELIMINARY COMMITTEE.

Mr. LAURIER:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I appear before you now simply to confirm what has already been stated by Mr. Sutherland, that this Convention is not a convention to ratify cut-and-dried resolutions, but that the work to-day remains with the members of the Convention itself. This is in every sense of the word a Liberal, a democratic Convention. I am anxious, and my friends who are associated with me in leading the Liberal party are anxious, that in the policy to be adopted, all the suggestions should come from the people themselves who are here represented. I therefore propose that a committee be appointed consisting of two members from each Province, as follows:

Ontario, Sir Richard Cartwright, Mr. James Sutherland, M.P.  
Prince Edward Island, Hon. L. H. Davies, Hon. F. Peters.

Nova Scotia, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Dr. Borden, M.P.  
 New Brunswick, Hon. A. G. Blair, Mr. A. H. Gillmor, M.P.  
 Quebec, Hon. Mr. Laurier, Hon. Senator Pelletier.  
 Manitoba, Hon. Robert Watson, Mr. J. A. Richard.

This committee to have power to select a large representative committee whose instructions shall be to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the Convention. It is also suggested to announce, and I may do so now, that any of our friends in this audience who have propositions to make or resolutions to offer, are invited to present them now, and their resolutions will be referred to the committee which will report upon them. It is proposed that as soon as that is done, we should adjourn to meet again at eight o'clock this evening, when it is to be hoped the atmosphere will be a little cooler than it is now. The committee I have named will draft a large and representative committee, and probably to-morrow morning we shall have the report of the large committee in the form of resolutions to be submitted to you. This evening the time will be occupied in a discussion by those who are on the platform and others, of the general propositions which in their judgment ought to be considered by the large committee and submitted for adoption to-morrow. Before I take my seat allow me to speak a few words in French.

Mr. Laurier then repeated his remarks in French.

The Chairman put the resolution which was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN :—Those who desire to submit resolutions had better do so now in order that they may be considered by this committee. I desire to let you know that amongst the speakers to-night will be Mr. Laurier himself.

The meeting then adjourned.

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#### FIRST DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled at eight o'clock, Sir Oliver Mowat in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN :—I have much pleasure in announcing to you that we are now about to hear our distinguished leader himself.

#### THE LEADER'S ADDRESS.

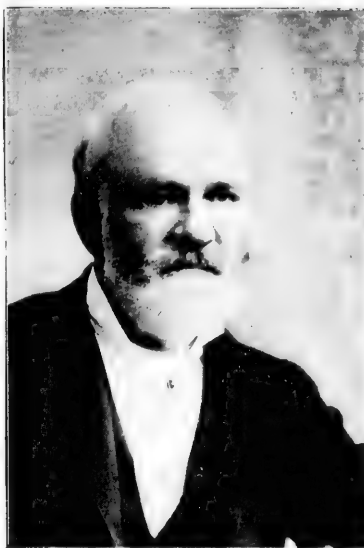
MR. LAURIER :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I would vainly seek to find, even though I attempted to do so, words adequate to convey to you a sense of the gratitude of myself and those entrusted with the fortunes of the Liberal party toward you for the kindness with which you have responded to the appeal which I made a few weeks ago in my capacity as official head of the Liberal party of the Dominion of Canada. It is most encouraging that there should be such numbers present, and not only that there should be such numbers present, but that we should

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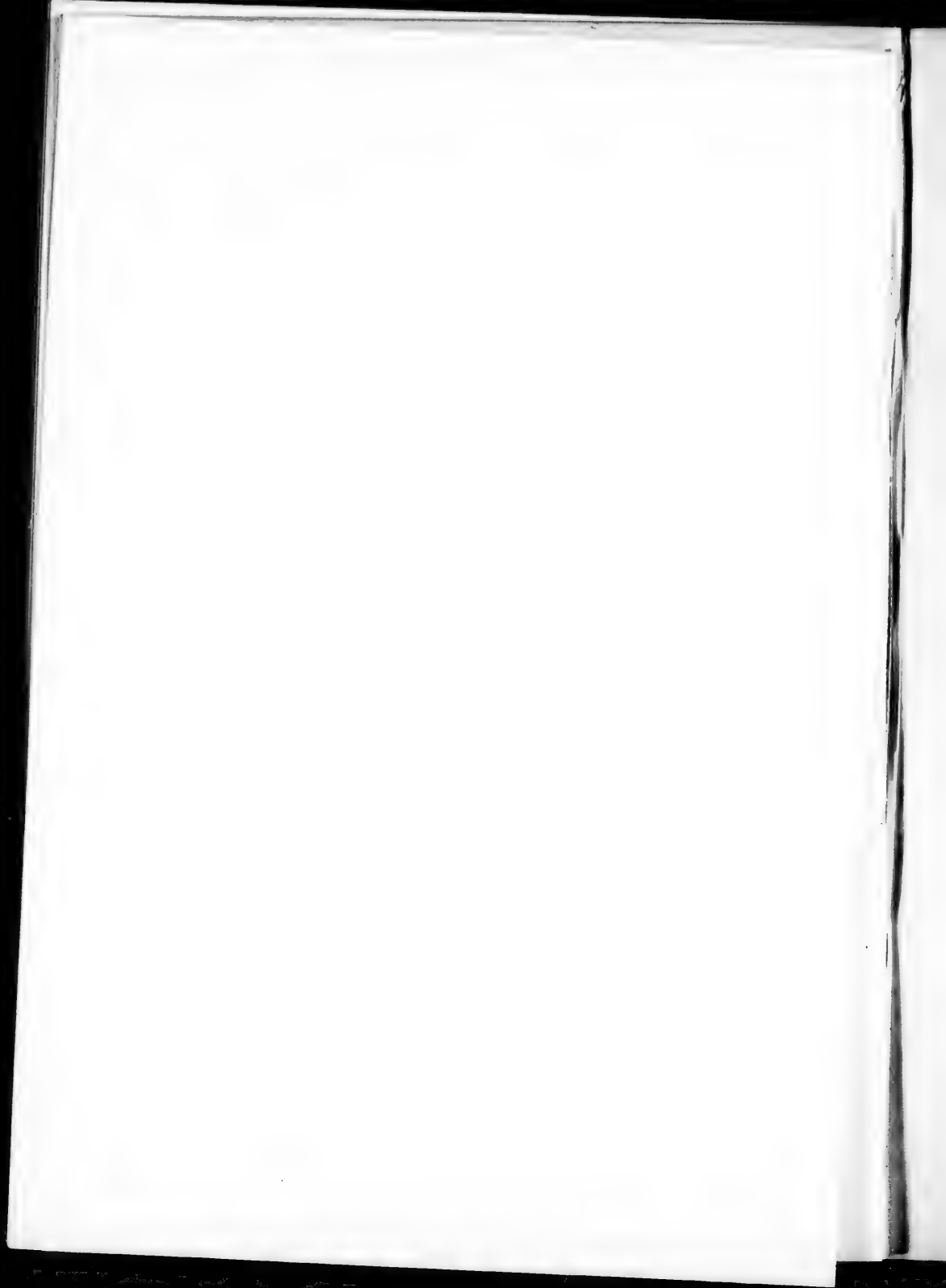
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S. J. JARVIS, PHOTO, OTTAWA.

HON. ANDREW G. BLAIR,  
PREMIER OF NEW BRUNSWICK—Vice-Chairman of the Convention.



have upon this platform the leaders of Liberal thought in so many Provinces of the Dominion, from the veteran of Ontario to the young fighting Premier of Prince Edward Island. Sir, if you would allow me a personal thought upon this occasion, I would say that, proud as I am to-day in the presence of Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of the Province of Ontario; of Mr. Fielding, the Premier of Nova Scotia; of Mr. Blair, the Premier of New Brunswick; of Mr. Peters, the Premier of Prince Edward Island, and of Mr. Sifton, of the Manitoba Government; if you will allow me here to speak of myself, I would say that I value still more, from a personal point of view, the presence amongst us of my old friend, Mr. Joly de Lotbiniere, under whose leadership it was my good fortune a good many years ago to serve my apprenticeship when I had the honor to sit in the Local Assembly of the Province of Quebec, when he was leader of the Opposition. He has told you here to-day that he has retired from politics, but when he heard the sound of the bugle, and got the smell of the powder, he had to fall into the ranks like an old soldier. I am proud to tell you, gentlemen, that we have to-day representatives from nearly all parts of the Dominion of Canada—from the Provinces by the Atlantic, from the valley of the St. Lawrence, from the region of the great lakes, even from the prairies of Manitoba and the North-West. The only Province which is not represented to-day officially is the Province of British Columbia, and yet to some extent it is, for this morning the Chairman of the Convention received the following telegram:—

“Although not represented, British Columbia takes warm interest in the proceedings of the Liberal Convention. Sentiment here favors a policy of freer trade relations with Great Britain and her colonies, especially Australia, and reciprocity of trade with all other nations.”

Nothing like this Convention has yet taken place since Confederation, and to find anything of the kind or approaching it you must go back to the days of old Canada—to the famous Liberal Convention which met in Toronto in 1859. And, Mr. Chairman, you will allow me the pleasure of saying that this meeting is presided over by one of the leaders of that Convention in that year. Sir Oliver Mowat was one of those who helped on that occasion to shape the policy which afterwards prevailed. Sir Oliver Mowat belongs in more senses than one to the school of that Grand Old Man who to-day, under the gaze of an admiring and wondering world, is struggling against many odds to relieve a country from a regime of oppression, and to give it good government of the people. With Sir Oliver, as with Mr. Gladstone, age seems to have made no impression on his faculties; his mental activity seems to increase with years. Sir Oliver Mowat better than any of us remembers that the Convention of 1859 had for its object the meeting of difficulties then prevailing. Canada was suffering from severe ills at that time. These ills, however, were of a constitutional nature. For years an imperfect constitutional system had prevailed in Canada. There was the union of Upper and Lower Canada, an English and a French Province, with all the disadvantages of a federal and a



legislative union, and without any of the advantages of either form. You know that the principle which was then adopted as a solution of the woes which Canada was then suffering was representation by population. This principle was gradually extended until it became the origin of Confederation, until it became the means whereby the four Provinces of British America were united into a Confederation under the sanction of the Mother Land, with the object that it was to extend all over the British portion of the continent. We, the Liberals, at this late day, are again assembled in order to discuss the present position of the country. I am glad to say that, though Canada is suffering many ills and woes, they do not arise from constitutional defects. I am glad to say that the constitution, though not perfect, still is such that it should command the respect and love of all Canadians. I want it to be known at the very outset of our proceedings that, while coming here from all parts of the Dominion to discuss the political situation of the country, to remedy, if possible, the ills from which our country is suffering, we do not come here in any carping spirit, with any revolutionary words. I say, we come here with our hearts full of love for our Canadian country, with pride for its past and hope for its future. Mr. Chairman, it is undeniable that to-day the position of Canada is not what it ought to be. In the eyes of many of us—I should say in the eyes of all of us—the position is such as to make a good many of the people of Canada feel anxious for the fate of the country. We are here to discuss the situation of our country. Whenever we meet, as we do upon this occasion, to discuss the situation of our country, we are met by our opponents with a very singular objection. If we speak of the situation of the country, and if we do not represent it in roseate colors, we are told at once by the Conservative party that we are decrying the country. This is a very strange objection. It would mean that the party in power have the right to do anything they please, and the only thing left to the Opposition is approbation. The position of the Opposition under this rule would be a slavish one, and it would never dare to speak the truth. There is but one answer to make to this, and it is that the truth, whatever it is, must be told. It were a crime undoubtedly—it were a national crime—for anyone to speak ill of his country if he spoke falsely. It would be a crime, and a great crime, if the colors under which the country is presented were not true; but I submit that it would be more a crime to conceal the truth for fear of causing fear or shame. There is but one thing to do, sir, and it is to speak the truth on every occasion. It is not perhaps within the bounds of human nature to expect that every page of the history of a people should be free from blots, but I assert that a people's history will be freest from blots where you find a strong and healthy public opinion to denounce every crime and outrage. I submit the only possible condition of the success and grandeur of a people is that all moral offences should be denounced, that all crimes should be denounced, and that the truth should be spoken upon every occasion without fear or favor. If any one were to look at the history of the country for the last twenty-six

years, that man must admit (and I may say here to begin with, that Canada has made great and substantial progress) that our progress has not reached the legitimate expectations of the Canadian people. No man can say, I do not care to what party he belongs, that Canada has realized in these twenty-six years the hopes that we had twenty-six years ago. If our hopes had been realized, the population of Canada would be at least 7,000,000 of souls. It is to-day about 5,000,000. If our hopes had been realized, we would to-day have upon the soil of Canada 1,000,000 of our fellow-Canadians who are now to be found in a neighboring country. It is not too much to expect that in a country like Canada, with so many resources of every description, every child born upon the soil should remain a citizen of Canada for all his life. When the Ministers of the Crown speak of this matter they affect to treat it very lightly. I submit to you that there is nothing of greater importance than this very question. Why, Sir, it is a well-known fact that the growth of population is the measure in many instances of the development of a people. Not only that, but so important is it considered, that, not satisfied with the natural growth of our population, we have spent thousands and millions of dollars in the last fifteen years in order to bring in immigrants. It is a matter of regret to think that, though we are spending \$200,000 or \$300,000 every year in order to bring in immigrants, we cannot keep our own people amongst ourselves. Is it to be supposed, is it to be expected, that if those born on the soil cannot remain attached to the soil, this foreign population will become attached to it? Is it to be expected that if we cannot keep our own people, those we bring from abroad will remain? There is only one conclusion to be arrived at, and it is this, that if a country like Canada, which can maintain a hundred millions of men, cannot keep a paltry population of 5,000,000 there must be something wrong with the policy and with the Government. The conclusion is irresistible. When the Ministers of the Crown deal with this question, they do not impugn the conclusion, they simply deny the facts. They tell you that the country is prosperous and that there is very little emigration, that the statement that there is large emigration is a Grit lie. There was a few days ago a meeting in Orangeville, which is situated in the county of Cardwell, and you know it has been rumored that the Government were contemplating rewarding one of the faithful, that the Government were contemplating removing Mr. White, the representative of Cardwell, to another sphere of usefulness, to make him the collector of customs in Montreal. But before they came to that conclusion, they had heard that perhaps it would not be safe under the present circumstances to open Cardwell. Therefore, they made a descent upon the faithful of Cardwell. One of the Ministers who was taken up for his eloquence, and perhaps for something else, was Mr. Clarke Wallace, the Controller of Customs. He opened his remarks by expressing his great admiration for the beauty of the surroundings of Orangeville. He spoke in glowing terms of the appearance of prosperity of the farm houses, and of the farms, which he

saw in all directions. I have no doubt Mr. Wallace had good reason to speak thus. Orangeville is one of those localities which, like many others, claims to be the garden of Ontario and of Canada. Mr. Wallace said that if the "Grit croakers," as he called them, had been there, they would find evidences of the error of their statements regarding the condition of the country. But if the "Grit croaker" had been there he would have told Mr. Wallace what was a fact, that every one of those farms had decreased in value 30 or 35 per cent. during the last fifteen years. He would have told Mr. Wallace: Yes, this is a fine country. The sun does not shine upon a better in its course. Yet on every one of those farms they deplore the loss of a son or daughter who has gone to the United States to find what his own native country does not give him. This is the strongest possible arraignment of the policy of the present Government, that, with the undoubted advantages we have, these people of Orangeville and surrounding country cannot keep their own children at home. The Minister of Finance also said on that occasion that the country was prosperous to a degree, and the story of the exodus was invented simply by the Grits. There might be, he said, a few emigrants now and then, and what, think you, was the cause Mr. Foster told them of these people leaving the country? You who have not read the speech could not possibly divine it. What little exodus there may be out of the country is caused, according to Mr. Foster, by the articles in the *Globe* newspaper. According to Messrs. Foster and Wallace, those who leave the country leave it simply because they read the *Globe* newspaper. Well, sir, the *Globe* is a very good paper in many ways. I commend the *Globe*, and I commend the editor of the *Globe*, who is on the platform to-night. I am glad to see a compliment paid by an opponent, but I am a Frenchman, and must show the chivalry which is credited to my race. I must stand up for the Conservative press. It is not fair for Mr. Foster to discount its influence. If the people around Orangeville read the *Globe*, is it possible they do not also read the *Empire*? If the *Globe* tells them they are not prosperous, is it possible they do not read the *Empire*, which tells them they are prosperous? Is it possible the people of Orangeville and vicinity are so stupid as to believe the *Globe*, when it tells them they are not prosperous, when they are? Are they such geese as not to know their own circumstances, but must rely upon the Grit papers to tell them? Sir, such arguments do not deserve any answer. There was another meeting held elsewhere. At the present time there is a roving commission going from place to place to find flaws, if flaws there be, in the National Policy. A few weeks ago they were in the city of St. John, N.B., and his admirers gave Mr. Foster a banquet. To this I have no objection. At this banquet, a fellow-countryman of mine, who happens to be Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Angers, made a speech. He proved that he could be, on any occasion, the equal of an Englishman, that he could be equal to his predecessor, Sir John Carling. He gave figures to his hearers, and spoke of the exodus and prosperity of the country, and told the people assembled that the exodus

"was not of a very great size." He spoke in a city which in ten years has not increased in population, but has actually lost 2,000 souls. The population of St. John under Mackenzie's regime exceeded 40,000; by the last census the population was reduced to under 40,000. That is to say, that the whole of the natural increase had been swept away, and 2,000 souls more. He spoke in a Province in which the whole increase during the ten years was thirty-seven; that is, that the whole of the natural increase had been swept away, together with every immigrant except thirty-seven. Yet Mr. Angers said the exodus was not of a very great size. We read in the Sacred Book that the Lord one day sent His angels to smite the first born of a people to punish them for their cruelty. But here not only the first born are swept away, but the whole issue of the people is extinguished. Yet Mr. Angers says that the exodus is not of a very great size. The newspaper report did not say that this statement was received with any cheers, but if they did not they did not do him that justice to which he is entitled, because it must have been something new to them to know that the exodus was of no great size. What would be the condition of New Brunswick and of the city of St. John if the exodus had been of a great size? There would have been nothing left of the city; the whole population would have been swept away. Under Mr. Mackenzie the city of St. John was swept by a disastrous fire. I assert in your presence, without fear of successful contradiction, that the National Policy has done more to injure the city of St. John than that great fire, and, in the face of this, Mr. Angers could tell them that the exodus was of no great size. Once a missionary went to preach the good news to a heathen city. From the first house which he passed he received the contents of a pot of boiling water. He did not go further. He thought he had gone far enough, and went back and told his friends what had occurred. He was asked "What did you say?" and replied, "I thanked them," "For what?" "Because," he answered, "they did not send the pot as well as the water." Well, sir, the people of St. John must thank Mr. Angers for knowing that the exodus was not of a great size. The statement was made at a dinner given in honor of Mr. Foster, who, as you know, is, or was, a cold-water man. He is still a cold-water man, I believe, yet of not the same degree of intensity as in former days. In former days I remember, in the House of Commons he wanted every man to be a cold water man like himself. He seems to have changed his view, but for that I have no remark to make, save this: that the statements of Mr. Angers requires a good deal of cold water to wash down, and perhaps something stronger as well. But, Sir, the ills of Canada to-day are not constitutional; they are altogether of an economic nature. In my humble opinion we should set it down at once that this is an assembly of plain and practical men, met together to deal with plain and practical questions. I agree with every word of the Chairman of to-day. We might be tempted, and the occasion would be a tempting one, to enlarge the political horizon, to enter new fields, and perhaps direct a policy to the future destiny of Canada. Some people—per-

haps they are represented here—favor closer union with the Mother Country; some want Canada to take rank with the other nations of the earth; and there are some to-day who would favor the union of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent. Sir, I respect all these opinions; but listen to me when I say that we should not indulge in speculative politics. This Convention ought to be confined to plain and practical questions. It is not when the house is on fire that we should think of needed improvements. Our first duty is to arouse the people to a sense of their immediate danger, and the immediate danger is the tariff which now oppresses Canada. There is, as you well know, a universal consensus of opinion among all classes, nay among all parties in this country, that the tariff which now prevails in Canada is a burdensome tariff, that it is an oppressive tariff, and that what was known at one time as the N.P. has been found to be a fraud and a failure. I say there is this universal consensus of opinion amongst us that the tariff has to be reformed. What do you see in Ontario to-day? A large section among the rank and file of the Conservative party openly declaring that they want to undo the evil they helped to establish in former years. Look in the ranks of the faithful, those who are ministerial to the backbone. Last session we saw man after man rising in his place in Parliament and proposing amendments to the tariff, men like Messrs. Cleveland, of Richmond, Pope, of Compton, and others, proposing to take one brick here and another there, until the wall was threatened with destruction. Sir, the feeling became so unanimous among the Conservatives themselves that the Government had to come forward and promise that they would deal with the question and reform the tariff. That was the promise extracted from them, but what reform can you expect from men who tell you that the country is prosperous and that there is no exodus; who tell you that their system is perfect and hardly in need of modification? Look at what took place a few months ago. Sir John Thompson, at the Board of Trade banquet in Toronto, told a large audience that the Government would be prepared next session to lop off some mouldering branches. When we came to the session we were fully prepared to see the Government lop off these mouldering branches; but we found that the Government had changed their view, and what were mouldering branches in January, like the rod of Moses, became flowering boughs in March. They had no alteration to make. Gentlemen, you have nothing to expect from them. Apart from the logic of events, you have the word of Mr. Foster himself, who has declared again and again within the last few weeks that tariff reform would consist in this, that there might be a few changes here and there, but that the principle of protection in the N.P. would be maintained. This simply means that the Government are going to scratch off the paint, and put on a new coat of varnish, and call it tariff reform. Mr. Chairman, again upon this occasion, I want it to be well understood that we take direct issue here and now with the Government. The Government tells us that the principle of the N. P. they are going to maintain, and we

answer to the Government that the principle of the N. P. is vicious and must be taken off—not only the branches. Sir, you remember what took place previous to the defeat of Mr. Mackenzie. At that time we had for Premier, as you well know, a man of unbending rectitude. There never was a purer or a greater man in my estimation in Canada than Alexander Mackenzie. He would not stoop to pander to what he supposed to be popular prejudice. He thought that the country could not be made prosperous by high taxation. The people believed otherwise. I have no fault to find with anybody, and no criticism to offer. The time for recrimination is gone. But I appeal to your judgment in the face of the experience of the last fifteen years under the system which was introduced by the Conservative party, which was dubbed the N. P., to say if that system is not vicious in principle, iniquitous in its terms and dangerous in its consequences. I say that it is vicious in principle. I want to know—and I put the question so as to be heard through the length and breadth of this country—by virtue of what principle will you tax a man to enrich his neighbor? By virtue of what principle will you tax the farmer in order to give work to the workingman? On what principle will you tax the workingman in order to give better prices to the farmer? We were told in 1877 and 1878 that by adopting a policy of high taxation we should create labor, and if we created labor, those who bore the burden would be recouped in some way. All these promises have been found to be fallacious. If the principle had been true that by high taxation we would create labor, we would see the result to-day, our population would be increased. And you were told that you would have a population of teeming thousands in the cities of Canada. What are the results? I am going to give you just a few figures which are, in my estimation, a most eloquent arraignment of the N. P. During the period from 1871 to 1881 in the Province of Ontario there was an increase of 342,071 souls. In the following period, from 1881 to 1891, the increase of population fell from 342,071 to 151,553, a decrease of more than fifty per cent. In Quebec during the previous period the increase of population was 167,511, and in the following period the increase was 130,035, or a decrease of 87,000. In Prince Edward Island in the former period the increase was 14,870; in the following period the increase was how many? Not even 1,000; not even 500, nor even 200, but simply 189. In Nova Scotia the increase was in the previous period 52,772, while in the following period it was 9,920. In New Brunswick the increase was in the former period 33,639, while in the second period it had fallen off to just 37. The whole increase was swept away. Such figures as these are the strongest possible arraignment of the National Policy. It is true there has been an increase in Manitoba in some respects, but Manitoba has been peculiarly situated. The fine prairies of the west have, to some extent, attracted immigration, but we know by the figures of the census, which have been taken from time to time, that not more than fifty per cent. of the immigrants who went to Manitoba remained there. There is not, I may say, a single Province

throughout the Dominion which clamors so much and so loudly to be freed from the incubus of the National Policy. I appeal to the farmers who are now before me if it is not true that the most difficult period for the farmer is the period following the first settlement. This is the period when, if the farmer is to be favored, he should be assisted, but the farmers of Manitoba have been forced to pay tribute to the manufacturers of the East. Manitoba would hail with joy the day when it would be freed from the incubus of the National Policy. We are told that we cannot say that the National Policy has been the cause of the exodus, because when the people leave the country, they go to the United States, which has also a protective tariff. The argument is a captious one. It is true that the National Policy is nothing but a servile copy of the American system of protection. The Conservative party, the loyal party, left the example of the Mother Country and went over to the other side for a policy, and they brought it back singing "God Save the Queen." They advocated that policy in 1878. In 1879, after they were returned to power, they introduced an American nostrum and gave it to the loyal people of Canada. When they were told by people like myself, who claim to be as loyal as they are, but whose loyalty is in the heart, and not on the lips, "You are endangering British connection," they said, "So much the worse for British connection." They adopted the policy, but the result was not what they had expected. The policy did not stop the exodus, as they said it would. The exodus under their policy doubled and trebled. What is the reason the policy prospered comparatively in the United States and not in Canada? The reason is that the great variety of climate to the south of the line, their increasing population and the great accumulation of wealth, were a protection against protection. They had free trade amongst an ever-increasing community, and were saved by free trade notwithstanding the high protection. But there was more. You know very well that this wisdom which was borrowed by our Government from the United States has been condemned by the American people.

You know very well that this Yankee system has been condemned by a majority of the states and a majority of the popular vote. Last year there was a Democratic convention, and on that occasion they declared: "That we condemn Republican protection as a fraud and a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of a few." That condemnation was endorsed by the American people at the first opportunity following, and they declared in the most emphatic language that the system of protection over there was a fraud and a robbery. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I submit to your judgment that the servile copy of the American system which has been brought amongst us by the leaders of the Conservatives, is, like its prototype, a fraud and a robbery, and I call upon you one and all to pronounce at once and give your emphatic support to the proposition that we shall never rest until we have wiped away from our system that fraud and robbery under which Canadians suffer. But, Sir, there is something more. We pronounce to-day in favor of tariff

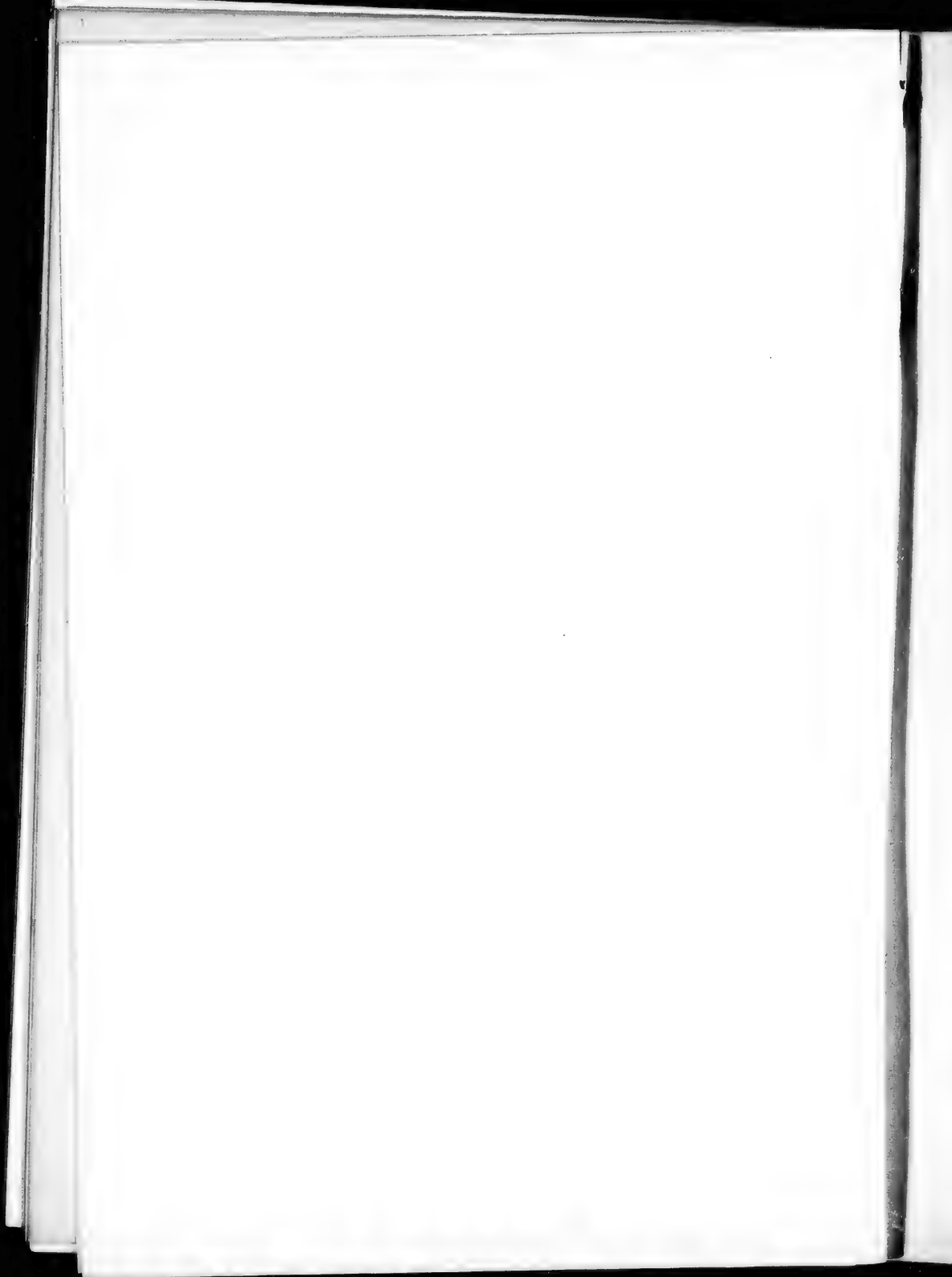


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HON. H. G. JOLY DE LOTBINIERE,  
EX-PREMIER OF QUEBEC—Vice-Chairman of the Convention.





reform, and our opponents have borrowed the word from us. You know it has been the system of the Conservative party more than once, whenever their clothes became dilapidated, to steal the clothes of their opponents, and present themselves before the people decently attired. This is what they want to do again, and on this occasion I do not object to their stealing our clothes, but I do object to their appearing before the country in false colors. They want to reform the tariff and still to retain the principle of protection. I submit to you that the ideal fiscal system is the British system of free trade. Sir, my loyalty, as I stated, does not ooze from the pores of my body, but I do want to go for an example to the Mother Country, and not to the United States, much as I respect and love the people on the other side of the line. I say the policy should be a policy of free trade, such as they have in England, but I am sorry to say that the circumstances of the country cannot admit, at present, of that policy in its entirety. But I propose to you that from this day henceforward it should be the goal to which we aspire. I propose to you from this day, although we cannot adopt the policy itself, to adopt the principle which regulates it; that is to say, that though it should be your misfortune for many years to come to have to raise a revenue by custom duties, these duties should be levied only so far as is necessary to carry on the business of the Government. I submit to you that not a cent should be extracted from the pockets of the people, except every cent goes into the treasury of the people and not into the pockets of anybody else. I submit to you that no duty should be levied for protection's sake, but levied altogether and only for the purpose of filling the treasury to the limits required. I submit to you that every cent that is levied should be levied first and foremost upon the luxuries of the people. I submit to you, therefore, that the system of protection which is maintained by the Government, that is to say of levying tribute upon the people not for the legitimate expenses of the Government but for a private and privileged class, should be condemned without qualification. Let it be well understood that from this moment we have a distinct issue with the party in power. Their ideal is protection, our ideal is free trade. Their immediate object is protection; ours a tariff for revenue only. Upon this issue we engage the battle from this moment forward, and I ask you once more never to desist until we have achieved victory, until we have freed this country from the incubus which has been weighing it down for fifteen long years. Nothing is more difficult—that is one of the evils of protection—than to wipe away protection, because under it interests have been established which every man who has at heart the interest of all classes must take into consideration. It is always easy to increase the tariff, because by so doing you increase the private fortunes of certain individuals, but whenever you decrease the tariff it has always to be done with careful consideration, and I am sure that when the Liberals are in power they will not be indifferent to this primary truth. Anyone in this audience, any Conservative in the country, if I ask: Do you crave more markets for

your produce? would answer: "Yes." If I were to tell him: There is on the other side of the line a nation of 65,000,000 of the Anglo Saxon race, that is the greatest commercial race in the world, would you not like to trade with them untrammelled and unfettered? he would answer "Yes."

Years ago we had a treaty of reciprocity with the United States confined to natural products, it is true, but under it trade developed rapidly, and you know that was the golden era in the history of the trade of Canada. Again and again the wish has been expressed that we should obtain that market if possible, but it has become a settled fact with both the great parties in the United States that they will not renew the treaty of 1854; that is to say, a treaty confined to natural products, but manufactures have to be included as well. In 1888 we adopted a policy of untrammelled trade with the United States. This policy was distorted by the most wicked perversions of our opponents. They asserted on the platform and in the press that what we wanted was unrestricted reciprocity, and nothing else, and that we would not take anything else, whereas the fact was that we were prepared to negotiate upon a basis of unrestricted reciprocity, but we would have been happy to obtain any possible measure of reciprocity in natural products and manufactures. The Liberal party when it formulated the policy of unrestricted reciprocity, never disguised that there were difficulties in the way, and that when we came to negotiate the treaty several lines of manufactured goods would have to be eliminated, but what we wanted was to send a commission to Washington to lay down a basis of negotiations for a treaty. We would have supported our opponents in any similar policy, but, while professing a willingness to go to Washington and negotiate a treaty, they never had any such intention, and while with one breath they told the people they wanted to negotiate a treaty, with the next they said we were disloyal because we wanted to negotiate a treaty.

You know the part disloyalty played in the last election. I am loyal to the British crown. I have often stated in the Province of Quebec, and I am happy to repeat it to-day when so many of my fellow countrymen of French origin are present, that we owe a debt of gratitude to the British Crown for the way it has treated us in the last fifty years. Loyal although I am, I do not think it would be my part to say that the interests of a colony are the interests of the Empire. Take the best families in the land, there is often a diversity of interests between the members of that family, and there is a diversity of interests between the members of an empire. The commercial interests of England are not the interests of Canada, and the commercial interests of Canada are not the commercial interests of England; and there is no Conservative who can gainsay this doctrine, for the fact that England is free trade and the Canadian Conservatives protectionist shows that there is in their opinion a diversity of interests between England and Canada. Sir, I want now to say this, if the interests of Canada clash with the interests of England, is it in any part of my loyalty or yours that we should make the interests of Canada give way to the

interests of Great Britain? What is the reason, I want to know, that my ancestors left the shores of France to come to this then savage country? Simply because they were not satisfied with their condition in France and thought they would better it in Canada. What is the reason your own fathers left the shores of Great Britain, of England, Ireland and Scotland? Simply because your own fathers were not satisfied with their condition upon their native soil, but believed that by coming to this country they would build up for themselves and their families a better and more prosperous condition of things. And are we, their descendants, to be told when we find our interests clashing with those of the Mother Land, we must stand by the Mother Land? I do not admit any such loyalty as that, and I am quite sure of the position that would be adopted in any part of Great Britain. I would not hesitate to go upon any platform there and state the same thing that I say to-night. I am a British subject, and if it were my lot to have been a member of the British House of Commons I would speak like an Englishman and stand up for England in preference to Canada every time. But I am a member of Her Majesty's House of Commons of Canada, and I leave it to Englishmen who represent the interests of Her Majesty's subjects in the Imperial Parliament to deal with the interests of the English nation, and I call upon the people of Canada to stand up for the interests of Canada. And if there be any man in this audience—no there is no one in this audience, but if there be any man outside of this audience—who says he stands up in preference for the interests of England, I tell him "Go back to England, that is your home." And, in speaking as I do, I claim I am perfectly loyal, because Her Majesty the Queen does not expect that any of her Canadian subjects should abase themselves or should refuse to stand up for the interests of their country; but she expects from us upon every occasion that the interests of Canada shall be paramount. Again I say, this is loyalty such as I understand it. But there is more than this to satisfy the conscience, the supercilious conscience of those extreme Conservatives who, I am afraid, will not be satisfied with anything except the possession of power. Let me tell them this, that if a treaty is negotiated by Canada with a foreign country, that treaty will have to be ratified by the Government of Her Majesty the Queen in England, and if the British Government object that we should make such a treaty, then, Sir, and not sooner, it will be time to raise objections. What I claim is that upon this policy of reciprocity, it should be well known and well understood that, while claiming to do the best for our country, we know full well that our action is subject to the approbation of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen. These two questions, in my judgment, ought to constitute mainly the programme of the Liberal party. The battle in which we are engaged at this moment is a battle for the welfare of Canada, and the welfare of Canada depends upon her fiscal policy.

But there are other questions still. One of the evils of the National Policy and the system of protection has been here, as everywhere else, to

lower the moral level of public life. It is a subject, however, into which I do not desire to enter at length. I speak of it more in sorrow than in anger; but I tell you this, if you want to purify the political atmosphere not a cent is to be levied except what is necessary to carry on the legitimate expenses of the Government economically administered. I speak of this subject more in sorrow than in anger, but there is not a man who has in his bosom a patriotic heart who does not see with shame that the name of Canada has become the by-word of corruption among the civilized nations of the earth. There are other questions, but we have not time to take up too many. One or two, however, ought not to be forgotten. We should endeavor to retain in every election an honest expression of the public mind and of the public will. We must be governed by the majority. I do not say that the majority is always right, but until we have something better we must abide by the rule that the majority must govern. What I want is a true and honest expression of the public mind. I object, therefore, to those laws which have been placed on the statute book by the men in power, not to have an honest expression of the public mind but to distort the true expression of the public will. I denounce it to you as infamy. I say that the best and safest principle is to revert to the old policy we had in former years of having a Provincial franchise. This system prevailed for eighteen years after Confederation and I never heard a single complaint against it. In 1885 this infamous Act was passed. So infamous is it that the men who promoted it dare not put it in force because the law requires that there should be revision of the list every year. But a revision every year costs so much that the Government are begged by their followers not to put that expense upon them. But the Act is put in force on the eve of an election because it gives to the party in power an unfair advantage. Again I denounce this other infamy, the system of gerrymander. Under our own system it is necessary that there should be after every census a redistribution of seats. There is but one basis to adopt, the basis of the Mother Land. There have been redistributions in the Mother Land, but there has never been a word of complaint, because the redistribution takes place upon a well known basis and principles, and that is that the boundary of no county should be interfered with. That is a principle which ought to be adopted here, and I hope that upon this we shall have a most emphatic expression from this Convention.

There are other questions, and it would not be fair on my part not to deal with them. Within the last fifteen days I have received several applications from different parts of the country asking me, "What are you going to do about Temperance?" "What are you going to do about Prohibition?" I ought to speak frankly upon this. I don't pretend at this moment to give you any more than my views. On a former occasion I already announced that this was a free, democratic Convention, in which no cut-and-dried resolutions are to be placed before you. You are free to move upon Prohibition or anything else that you choose, but I ask

you simply to allow me to give you my views. You are aware that two years ago, against our protest, however, the Government of the day appointed a commission to investigate the liquor question, not only in this country, but in other countries as well. This was done against our protest. We believed—I still believe, for my part—that we have all the information we require on which to form an opinion upon this subject. The Dominion Alliance, which is the great Prohibition Parliament of the country, has a representative to speak for it upon the floor of the House of Commons. That gentleman is Mr. Dickey. You know very well that not upon one occasion, but during two sessions—the sessions of 1892 and 1893—the Dominion Alliance, by the mouths of its spokesman and the other members of the Alliance upon the floor of the House of Commons, declared that until that commission had reported the question of prohibition should be left in abeyance, so far as the Dominion Parliament is concerned. Well, Sir, for my part, I do not see how, as long as this report is to come, as long as this investigation is to proceed and as long as the Dominion Alliance professes to be satisfied with it, the Liberal party in Parliament can deal with it. Let me go one step further. As far as I am personally concerned, I am prepared to give my views now and at once upon this question, and as soon as it is removed from the state it is in now I shall not hesitate to give my views with no uncertain sound. It would be premature to say how I would speak or vote, but my mind is made up and I will be prepared to give my advice to the Liberal party for them to act upon it or not, just as they please. As long as the commission is deliberating it would be impossible for us to frame a policy. If they did the Government would go to their friends and say: This is not fair towards us, we are seeking information at your request, and therefore do not ask us to have an issue on this. We could not have issue on this subject and, gentlemen, I want to have an issue with the Government on every question that comes up. Now it is my duty to refer to another matter which is an irritating subject because it touches questions of creed and race. I refer to the Manitoba school question. I have received several communications urging me to take a course upon that question. Different persons in the various Provinces have asked me to take opposite courses. To them I have given no answer. I give it now, Gentlemen. I wish the question were in any other condition. Those of you who follow political events know that last session Mr. Tarte on the one hand and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy on the other agreed that the Government were a pack of cowards, that they did not deal with that subject in a manly way. For my part I spoke in the same sense, and I now say that the Government acted in a cowardly way and did not dare to speak either one way or the other. It was their bounden duty to say one thing or the other, but instead of acting like men of courage they allowed passion to be inflamed in Manitoba and Quebec and never dared to stand up like men and put an issue of the question. They are to be blamed for this. They shunted the question to the courts, where it is now. The Opposition are not in a

position to take any action until such time as a report has been given by the courts, and until the courts have decided whether or not the Government have the right to interfere. Then, Sir, it will be time for us to say we will act or not. In my estimation it is not prudent now that the question is before the court, to deal with it, because it would be appeal to prejudices which it would be better should be left aside. For my part, on the temperance question, I say it is possible the time may never come to speak on this subject again in Parliament, because, if the courts decide that the Government have no right to interfere, that will be an end of the question forever. One word more. It is now twenty-six years since Confederation. It was openly said at the time that the object of those who framed the constitution was to make this Canada of ours a nation under progressive British institutions. For my part I have always regretted that upon that occasion a Province was trampled on, instead of an appeal being made to the best instincts of their hearts. Such an appeal made to the people of Nova Scotia would have reconciled them long ago to a system which, in my estimation, is a noble one, because it has a great aim. Now and forever, whether we are in opposition or in power, it will ever be our aim upon every occasion to appeal to the generous heart of the people and not resort to force or coercion. We are divided in this country as to race and creed, but I am glad to see that in the high aim we have in view there is no creed or racial division. There is something broader and more lasting upon which we desire to build up a nation. But is it sufficient to have a moral basis for a people? We must have material prosperity, and the prosperity of the people depends upon our fiscal policy. We are probably on the eve of a general election. When it will come is among the secrets of the gods whose Olympus is upon Parliament Hill yonder. It is possible we may have a repetition of the doom of the last dissolution and it, therefore, behoves us to be henceforth prepared for the fray, whenever it comes. Let us resolve, here and now and henceforward and for every moment from this day until the battle has been won, that we will never cease our efforts, and for my part in this struggle I will endeavor to do my duty to the best of my ability, and I hope, nay, I am sure, that every one of you, general, colonel, captain and private, whenever it comes, will always be found at his post.

I would now claim the privilege of a few words to my fellow countrymen of French origin. Mr. Laurier then spoke briefly in French.

#### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS APPOINTED.

The CHAIRMAN :—I have now to call upon the committee appointed to strike committees to carry on the work of this Convention.

Mr. SUTHERLAND, M. P. :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : Your committee, considering that the Committee on Resolutions was the most important and should be first at work, have only been able to find time to report the names of those to constitute that committee. They will, as early as possible in the morning, recommend names for other committees, such as



those on Credentials, Transportation, Printing and Literature, and Organization. I will ask those present, who are named on this committee, to remember that they are called to meet at nine o'clock sharp to-morrow morning at the Reform Club. It is most important, gentlemen, that this committee should meet sharp on time to consider the various resolutions that have been submitted to the secretary, so that we may have a report early in the day.

Your committee appointed to strike committees beg to report recommending the following gentlemen as a Committee on Resolutions:—Hon. C. A. P. Pelletier, Hon. W. Ross, Hon. F. Langelier, Hon. F. G. Marchand, Hon. D. A. Macdonald, C. Beausoleil, M. P., P. A. Choquette, M. P., C. Deschene, M. P. P., Dr. Guay, M. P., A. Turgeon, M. P. P., L. H. Brodeur, M. P., Dr. Christie, M. P., J. I. Tarte, M. P., J. Sriver, M. P., S. A. Fisher, ex-M. P., Dr. Rinfret, M. P., Jules Tessier, M. P. P., George Carroll, M. P., Dr. Godbout, M. P., C. R. Devlin, M. P., Dr. Vaillancourt, M. P., Hon. F. P. Thompson, Hon. A. H. Gillmor, W. F. George, George G. King, G. Had-dow, J. L. Carleton, G. F. Gregory, J. U. Ellier, Jas. Domville, James O'Brien, Hon. J. A. C. Prendergast, Hon. Robt. Watson, Fra. Bechard, M. P., Hon. J. H. Ross, Hon. James Richards, Hon. David Laird, Malcolm Macdonald, Hon. L. H. Davies, M. P., Hon. B. Rogers, J. W. Carmichael, W. H. Chase, M. Dwyer, Hon. A. G. Jones, George J. Troop, G. H. Murray, D. C. Fraser, M. P., Hon. A. McGillivray, Mayor Keefe, Mayor Allan, Dr. Borden, M. P., Hon. R. W. Scott, Sir Richard Cartwright, Hon. David Mills, M. P., John Charlton, M. P., John McMillan, M. P., George C. Gibbons, James D. Edgar, M. P., R. C. Clute, D. Burke Simpson, James Sutherland, M. P., James Conmee, M. P. P., Robt. Jaffray, W. Mulock, M. P., W. Patterson, M. P., W. D. Balfour, M. P. P., Andrew Pattullo, Hon. James Young, Chas. Mackenzie, M. P. P., F. T. Frost, A. T. Wood, J. R. Stratton, M. P. P., T. O. Anderson, James McMullen, M. P., T. P. Gorman, Hon. J. M. Gibson, N. A. Belcourt, E. D. O'Flynn, W. R. Aylesworth, Joseph Tait, M. P. P., W. Gibson, M. P.

Your committee further recommend that Mr. Laurier and the president and vice presidents elected by this Convention be *ex-officio* members of all committees. (Signed) JAMES SUTHERLAND, Chairman.

These gentlemen are chosen from every portion of the Dominion and we hope that they will meet with your approval.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### LETTER FROM THE MAYOR OF OTTAWA.

Mr. C. S. HYMAN:—I have been requested to read the following letter:—

OTTAWA, 20th June, 1893.

To the Chairman and Members of the Liberal Convention.

GENTLEMEN:—It affords me very great pleasure to congratulate yourself and friends upon the brilliant and gratifying success which has attended the meeting of your Convention. Although we may not be all agreed in the objects of your visit politically, we can still agree in this, viz., in the hope that the results of your deliberations will be for the benefit of our common country.



Amongst the many friends now here from all parts of the Dominion, I doubt not there are many connected with municipal matters. To these gentlemen, mayors, reeves and other members of municipal corporations, I desire to proffer a reception in the City Hall, at the hour of 1.30 p.m., to-morrow, (Wednesday) and shall be glad to meet them with all who can possibly be present.

In order to afford an opportunity to all visiting friends to judge of the fire appliances of our city, it will afford me great pleasure to have a parade and test exhibition of the fire brigade, which will take place in front of the City Hall at 9.30 o'clock.

O. DUROCHER.

Mayor.

#### SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT'S ADDRESS.

The CHAIRMAN :—We have had an inspiring speech to-night from our distinguished chief. Such a speech as became the leader of a great party, and such a speech as especially became the leader of the Liberal party of Canada. There are in Parliament in both Houses many able representatives of the Liberal party, some of whom we have to hear to-night. The first I shall call upon is one who has no superior in Canada in regard to all matters of finance or trade and who has no superior either in the forcible and eloquent and instructive way in which he can set forth the truth in all such matters. I have much pleasure in calling upon Sir Richard Cartwright to address us.

SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT :—Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen: Both for your sakes and for my own I would like to make my remarks to-night as brief as may be, but at the same time, looking round upon this Convention, I cannot but feel that we are met together for no ordinary occasion and that this is no ordinary audience that I have the honor to address. I have the pleasure to-night of speaking to the chosen representatives of the Reform party from one end of the Dominion of Canada to the other. I speak to the men who have toiled and fought and sacrificed for the good cause and for the sake of honest government, or to those who have not yet had the opportunity but who by their presence here to night give their pledge that they on their part will be willing to imitate the example of their predecessors, and to toil and sacrifice and suffer in their turn for the same objects. Now, it is not a mere figure of speech to say that the people of Canada at present are standing at the parting of two ways. For a period of fourteen years or more, as our public records only too clearly testify, a large portion of the people of Canada have been consenting parties, if not willing instruments, to what has proved to be nothing less than a carnival of corruption. For fourteen years a very large portion of the people of Canada have been chasing a will-o'-the-wisp, which, as is the custom of that wandering spirit, has ended by leading them into a very foul quagmire. I do not know when it will be the fortune of Canada to have a historian who will truthfully depict the events of the last fourteen or fifteen years, but I am afraid that in stating the facts he will be obliged to state that the people of Canada during that period have been duped and plundered as few

other peoples ever have been. He will be obliged to state that, so far as a great part of the people is concerned, they desired to be duped and plundered. I am glad to say that there are now signs of a better day. The very extremity of the evil is likely, to a considerable extent, to work its own cure. I do not mean to say that you are going to have an easy victory. You have a great task before you, and you have a great fight to fight. You may rely upon it that it is a political as well as a physical fact that all low organizations die hard, and, though, it may be true enough that the organization which is opposed to you is one which has no great number of principles to boast of, although it is true of them, by their own admission, that their principles are to have no principles, nevertheless you must not deceive yourself with the idea that on that account they are going to fight any less hard. They may not have principles to fight for, but they have plunder to fight for, and, depend upon it, they will struggle hard to keep what they have got. Now, as my esteemed predecessor has said, on the great majority of questions which come before us there is no material difference of opinion among members of the Liberal party. I think, Sir, we all agree that the constitution of the Senate, as it at present exists, is a blot upon popular government and free institutions. I think we all agree that it is the duty of the Liberal party to do our utmost to preserve the rights of the several Provinces and to see that in their sphere the provincial authorities shall have the same rights accorded to them as the constitution grants the Dominion Legislature in its larger sphere. I think we all agree in denouncing those frauds which we know under the name of the Franchise Act and the Gerrymander and which have contributed so largely to defeat the will of the people during the past few years. We all agree in desiring honest government and economy and in denouncing corruption. Besides all these things, we are likewise agreed in desiring to remedy as well as we can those evils which we know to exist throughout the length and breadth of Canada to-day, and it is more particularly to the consideration of the remedies which can be found for the present state of affairs that this Convention should direct its energy. Now, I myself on the present occasion, do not intend, nor, to say the candid truth, is it much my habit, to indulge in saying smooth things for the purpose of flattering either you or our opponents. It has been my painful duty for a good many years to face the facts, and very unpleasant facts I have found them to be very often. Gentlemen, I have always desired, as far as I could, to respect all my opponents whom I found any reason to believe to be actuated by honorable purposes. And I do not mean to say that in the ranks of our opponents there are not a very considerable number of worthy, but utterly mistaken men. But, on the other hand, I have to say to you, in order that there may be no illusions on our part as to the character of the foe with whom we have to deal, we are practically face to face with a vast and well organized conspiracy, with a conspiracy which controls a very large portion of the press of this country, which controls a very large part of the active wealth of this country, which has the entire resources of the Government of

Canada at its disposal, a conspiracy whose motto is robbery, and whose arms are fraud and bribery. Sir, it is too truly the case that the folly in former times of a majority of our own countrymen has raised formidable ramparts against themselves, and it is a deplorable thing, as Mr. Laurier truly told you a thing to be spoken of more in sorrow than in anger, that at this moment throughout Canada there exists a most unusual degree of political corruption. And I am sorry to have to say that in Canada, as Canada exists to-day, public opinion is but a small and weak factor in remedying the evils with which you have to deal, Sir, I have sat in many parliaments, and I am sorry to say that the Parliament of which I am now a member has attained a most evil pre-eminence, even among several very bad parliaments that I can recollect. It has remained for this Parliament, deliberately and publicly to condone the very vilest corruption that could be committed in a country having free institutions. It has remained for this Parliament to trample under foot the most fundamental principles of law and justice, to make a mockery of judicial trials of ministers, to allow those ministers to be tried by judges of their own selection, upon charges of their own preparation. Sir, I doubt whether there is any English-speaking country possessing representative institutions where a similar drama could be enacted to that which you saw enacted but a few weeks ago in the buildings on Parliament Hill in this city. Turning to the other side, the material injury of which we have to complain is hardly less in magnitude, than the moral degradation to which I have alluded. If you add together the sum which has been put into the treasury and the larger sum which has been extracted from the pockets of the people for the benefit of a few privileged and favored individuals, you will find that the total for the last fourteen years is hardly less than a thousand millions of dollars. Sir, when Germany levied her enormous war indemnity upon France twenty years ago the total sum which the victors dared to exact from the vanquished country hardly amounted to the sum which has been levied from you and taken out of your pockets for the purpose of entrenching your oppressors in power and enabling them to defeat the wishes of the people. Looking at the relative population and the relative resources of the two countries it is safe to say that the sum exacted from us in that time is equal to eight times the enormous war indemnity exacted from France. And I would that that was the most or the last of the evils which have resulted from this policy. But grave as is the loss of a thousand million dollars, a still graver loss is that shown by the census returns in this country and in the United States, which prove that not far short of a million of our own countrymen have been virtually driven into exile, and, more, if there be any truth whatever in the official returns laid upon the table of Parliament, that very nearly a million of immigrants who in these fourteen years were brought to this country at our cost and charges and alleged by our Government to have settled in Canada, have, by that same policy, been driven out of the country to help to swell the numbers and the wealth of the United States. Sir, our opponents are fond of telling us that this is a

trifle; they are fond of telling us that if the people do not like to stay in Canada they had better leave it. Now, I submit to you and to the intelligent people of Canada, can there be, after all said and done, a better test of the general prosperity of the people than this—whether people are seeking to come to the country, and whether people who are already there desire to stay? For my part I know of no test which will show better whether the country is really prosperous or not than the simple fact whether the people who are in that country prefer to remain there or prefer to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Now, I have no doubt that one of the chief causes of their loss to Canada has been the operation of the protective system, and it is, perhaps, a matter of regret that in the discussions which from time to time have taken place on this subject, we rather ignore the political working of that system, and perhaps dwell a little too much on the material injury it has done to our country. I think it must be obvious to every one who will give the slightest attentive consideration to the working of the protective system in this country or elsewhere that the moment you introduce that system you make legal provision for corruption on the most extensive scale. The moment you introduce the protective system you create a class whose interests are essentially different from those of the people at large and who become the ready contributors to corruption funds, sharing with their masters the plunder which they have been enabled to take from the people. More than that, I have always held that in Canada protection was not only a crime, but a blunder. I have always felt that there was absolutely no excuse for introducing such a system in a country like this. There is no factor in the condition of Canada which would ever justify us in expecting that we could thrive by taxing our people or that by isolating them from the rest of the world we would be able to increase their prosperity, improve their resources or increase their numbers. What is the position of Canada? In two words it is this—we are a small country of sparse population, and having small diversity of production to form the basis of trade between the countries making up the Dominion, indicating that our most profitable work is in carrying on commerce with other countries, and more particularly with that country which lies alongside of our own for a distance of nearly three thousand miles. There is no doubt that in past times great opportunities were vouchsafed to the people of Canada. I can myself recall no less than three occasions upon any one of which the exercise of a little prudence and foresight would have vastly improved our position. Sir, we had a great opportunity almost at the commencement of Confederation in 1868. We had, I think, another in 1878, and another in 1888. There can be no doubt that the best possible policy for us would have been to adopt that pursued with such success in the Mother Country, the policy of free trade, as far as our position allows us to adopt it. And this policy could have been adopted with great success in 1868. We started in our career as a nation with great advantages over the people of the United States. At that time our taxation was about one-third that of the people of the United States

and our debt per head about one third of theirs. There was no immediate occasion for any great increase of our expenditure or our debt and it would have been a comparatively easy task at that time to have introduced a system almost precisely similar to that which obtains in the Mother Country. That opportunity was allowed to pass. In 1878, when, after great difficulty, we had succeeded in making provision for the enormous engagements which the preceding Government had burdened us with, when we had provided for those heavy additions to our expenditure consequent upon their desperate attempts to bribe Parliament into condoning the first Pacific scandal, we had the opportunity of maintaining a revenue tariff, which, though not as favorable as the tariff we might have adopted in 1868, still, with some slight exertion, would have enabled us to provide for all the requirements of the country without in the slightest degree adding to the burdens of the people. I believe that if the advice given by the Liberal party in 1888 to open negotiations with the government of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a reciprocity treaty with that country had been adopted, we might, within the last four or five years, have succeeded in obtaining such a reciprocity treaty on fair and equitable terms as would have put almost a complete stop to the exodus of our people which we so much deplore and would have added enormously not only to the population but to the general wealth and resources of the country. However, Sir, these opportunities are gone, and it is our duty now to face the situation as best we may, and I believe, with Mr. Laurier, that the first duty of the Reform party, the duty which lies next at hand, the duty which is most clearly within their power to perform, is at once and completely to reform the tariff of this country, to reduce it to a revenue basis, to see that no money from this time forth shall, so far as we can prevent it, be taken out the pockets of the people for any other purpose than for the legitimate needs of the whole community. Gentlemen, as regards protection, I may say at once that I think that no man who has taken the trouble to examine the working of the protective system will fail to endorse the statement I make that liberty and protection are a contradiction in terms. You can have no true liberty under a protective system; you can have no true liberty under a system the function of which is to create a privileged class and to concentrate an undue proportion of the wealth of the community in the hands of a few individuals. I contend that protection, besides being the cause of the worst political corruption, is the deadly foe of all true freedom and therefore the deadly foe of every Liberal who desires to see his country a free country. Now, I would like to say a word or two as to our Conservative friends who of late have become free traders, or perhaps more correctly speaking, the advocates of a revenue tariff. I have noticed in certain quarters a disposition on the part of some of our friends—a natural disposition perhaps—rather to jeer at those gentlemen, who, after all said and done, have merely come back—or forward whichever way you choose to take it—to the position the Reform party occupied in 1878. That may be true and yet be no reflection

upon them. It is hardly a reproach to an advanced Conservative to say that after half a generation he has come forward to the place occupied by the hindmost Liberal ranks fourteen years ago. It is an advance for them; and I would have you remember that men who have seen their mistake, and have paid bitterly for that mistake, are less likely to backslide than even our own true and trusted friends who have not erred. You must remember that there is more joy among the angels over one Conservative sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just Liberals that need no repentance. Now, from whatever cause it springs, or whatever may be the reason for it, I am exceedingly glad of the change in these men and I welcome with the greatest possible pleasure the signs of awakening at long last in the Conservative ranks, and I believe that great results to Canada will flow from that spontaneous movement which seems to be taking place among them. There can be no doubt that the damning facts set forth in the census returns have had their effect upon the more intelligent of our opponents, and also that the example of the United States has had its effect among them. The knowledge of the condition of a large mass of their fellow-countrymen must have brought them to a realizing sense of the wrongfulness of the policy which has been followed in the affairs of Canada. I have no wish to inflict statistics upon you, but when you remember that within the last ten years, according to the clearest possible evidence, 440,000 of the best of our people have quitted our shores, and that within the same period, if the Government records are to be relied upon at all, at least 760,000 of the immigrants whom they alleged to have brought to this country have likewise left us, you cannot be surprised that men of sense and intelligence understanding what this means, seeing that this has occurred in a country which scarcely contains five millions of people, which, if its resources were properly developed, could support with ease from fifty to one hundred millions in peace and plenty, feel, as we all feel, that the occasion is one which calls upon every Canadian who has the slightest regard for the welfare of this country to put aside party considerations and join with us in devising measures to stop this outflow and to enable Canada at least to retain her own population upon her own soil. Now, I believe that you will all agree with my esteemed friend, Mr. Laurier, in declaring that an overwhelming case has been made out for a general and decisive reform strictly on the lines of a revenue tariff, a reform which will provide that for the future not one cent shall be exacted from the people of Canada, except for the needs and uses of the people who contribute to these taxes. But, gentlemen, this is but one half the battle. As I have said, we have had great opportunities and we have lost them. A few years ago a return to the revenue tariff would of itself in all probability, have been sufficient to restore prosperity, to put a stop to the exodus of our population and to give us again a fair start in the race of national life. But I am sorry to say that the evil has extended to such a degree that mere negative measures are hardly sufficient to undo the mischief that has been wrought. Tariff reform is an excellent

thing beyond all question. It is a good and necessary thing. It will reduce the burdens of the people, it will lessen the cost of production; it is a thing to be striven for, to be fought for. But I believe I should be trifling with the question if I did not say that something more is needed, and that that something is to be found, and is only to be found, in taking vigorous measures to obtain access for you to the markets of the great country which forms our almost sole neighbor on this continent of North America. I believe, Sir, that tariff reform is a good thing, but that no rapid development and recovery can be looked for unless in some form and shape you obtain also access to the markets of the United States. Now, you have been reasonably successful in instructing the more rational and intelligent of your Conservative opponents in what I may call the A.B.C. of economic reform. They are beginning to understand that it is not the best way to enrich a people to double or treble their taxation. They are beginning to understand that it is a radically false view of the duties of the Government to suppose that it is part of its mission to take from one portion of the community in order to enrich the another. But over and above these rudimentary economic facts, it would be well that they should learn a few physical facts as to the geography of Canada; it would be well that they and the people of Canada should bear in mind that Canada is, by the necessity of its position, an integral part of this continent of North America, and that we have, to all intents and purposes, no other neighbor than the United States, and that to reach any other country we must cross at least three thousand miles of ocean. These facts indicate that if we desire to promote our own interests, if we desire to see Canada develop as it ought, if we desire to stop the exodus and keep our own people here, it is of the highest importance to the well-being of the people, that no honorable means should be left untried to obtain the largest possible measure of free trade with the United States, whether that be done through the medium of a treaty of reciprocity or by mutual legislation in the direction of free trade between the countries. And here let me remind you that the Liberal party have always advocated reciprocity with the United States as a means to an end, or rather to two ends. Our object was, first of all, to destroy the protective system which was doing such infinite injury to the material as well as to the moral interests of the country, and our second object was to obtain free access to the markets of the United States. Whether that is obtained in one way or the other is a matter of no consequence to us and to the people of Canada, so long as the object is obtained. When, in 1888, we proposed that a mission should be sent to Washington for the purpose of securing a treaty of reciprocity with the United States, we did so with the knowledge that at that time the people of the United States were fully disposed to enter into such a treaty, and were hardly prepared to consider any other proposal. It may be, since the recent political revolution in the United States, that another method could be suggested to obtain that desirable end. Here let me say that I attach no weight whatever to the declara-



tions which have been made recently or at any time by the Ministers of the Crown that it was impossible on fair terms to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity or to obtain free trade with the people of the United States. Sir, out of their own mouths and upon the judgment of their own acts I convict these men of utter hypocrisy in their dealings with the United States. I say, Sir, that no men ever went down to Washington more clearly and manifestly with a lie in their right hand than did these ministers when they went there pretending that they desired to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity. I speak as having thrice in the Parliament of Canada proposed to these men to send a mission to Washington to ascertain on what terms the Government of the United States would treat with the Government of Canada. Thrice over did these men deliberately refuse not merely to accept our suggestions, but even to take the slightest steps whatever to ascertain whether a treaty was possible. And on the third occasion, in 1890, speaking by the mouth of one of their own colleagues, Mr. Colby, they had the audacity to tell the House and the people of Canada that they did not believe in the slightest degree in the value of a reciprocity treaty, even in the matter of natural products only. Now, Sir, that is on record. And it is also on record that they deliberately deceived the people of Canada in the election of 1891 by falsely pretending that they had good grounds for believing that they could at once negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with the United States if they were fortified by a fresh mandate from the people. It is within your recollection, as it is within mine, in what manner they were received and how they were rebuked for their impudent violation of all international and diplomatic courtesies and of all the rules and regulations which ought to govern the intercourse of two nations upon that occasion; and to our shame be it said, it stands upon record that, before the late Mr. Blaine would allow them so much as to enter his presence, he compelled the High Commissioner for Canada, Sir Charles Tupper, over his own signature, to declare that the statements that he, Mr. Blaine, had made were literally in accord with the fact, and that the statements made by the ministers from Canada with regard to what had passed between them with respect to these negotiations were the reverse of the fact. Sir, the plain truth of the matter is this: their paymasters and owners had no intention at any time of permitting them to negotiate any treaty with the United States on fair and equitable terms, and no man who heard, and I think no man who has read the explanations which were tendered by the ministers on their return from Washington can fail to see that these negotiators went down to Washington not for the purpose of negotiating a reciprocity treaty, but for the express purpose of so conducting the affair that they might be able to return to the people of Canada and declare that a treaty of reciprocity could not be negotiated. Who ever heard of diplomatists dispatched on so delicate and difficult a mission as the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty, beginning negotiations with a formal declaration that the difficulties in the way were so great that they did not see how it would be possible to negotiate a treaty at all, and that they



would be obliged to Mr. Blane if he would explain to the Canadian Finance Minister how he was to make good the revenue which would be lost through the operation of the treaty? It is undoubtedly and in the highest degree to the interest of the people of Canada to go into the battle which awaits us with the most distinct declaration that we desire in the first place to lower the taxation of the people to the lowest point, consistent with carrying on the Government of this country in an honest and economical fashion, but that at the same time we wish it to be understood in the clearest manner that we desire and will use our best endeavors to secure for you at the earliest possible moment, the freest possible access to the markets of the United States. I, for my part, cannot take back one word of what I have said at any time as to the enormous importance to the people of Canada from one end of the Dominion to the other of obtaining access to the markets of North America. I hold, and I think the more you study the question the more clearly you will see, that the true home market for the people of Canada is the market which is to be found, not on the other side of the Atlantic, but on the Atlantic coast, and in which the nineteen-twentieths of our population from Sarnia to Halifax will find the best market for the disposal of a very large part of all they can produce, including as it does that great area of population stretching from Chicago to Baltimore and having Boston on its northern bound. I believe that there you will find a better, a larger, a more rapidly increasing, and a richer market than is to be found in any other part of the world, and one in which, from your geographical position, you will be able to trade at great profit to yourselves as well as to those with whom you deal. I would like to say a word or two upon the pretence so often put forward that it is impossible for the people of Canada and impossible for the Liberal party to advocate friendly relations with the greatest English speaking nation on earth without at the same time weakening materially our loyalty to the British Empire. I believe that there is no greater treachery, not merely to the British Empire, but to the British race at large, than for any man, be his position what it may, to allow himself, for political gain or advantage, to do anything which can tend to alienate the people of the United States and the people of the Mother Country. There is no English statesman who is worth his salt, who is fit to advise Her Majesty, or to hold a place in the councils of the Empire, who would not second the declaration that the greatest service that the people of Canada can render to the British Empire is, as far as in them lies, to remove all possible cause of friction and quarrel between Britain and her descendants on this side of the ocean. And I say there is no more effective way of doing this than by promoting the closest and most friendly trade relations between Canada and the United States. I admire the virtue of loyalty. Be loyal by all means; be loyal to Canada and to the Queen of Canada; but above all and before all, be loyal to the moral and material interests of your own country. Remember you are here as Canadians, that we who hold places in the Parliament of Canada are the representa-

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S. J. JARVIS, PHOTO, OTTAWA.

HON. FRED. PETERS,  
PREMIER OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—Vice-Chairman of the Convention.

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tives of the Canadian people, that in taking office and becoming members of the executive committee of the Privy Council we hold our positions as Cabinet Ministers of Canada, and it is our duty to advise Her Majesty in such a manner as best to promote the interests of the people of Canada. Let the people of England choose their own representatives and let them advise the Queen of England as to those matters most likely to promote the welfare of England. I claim for myself as a British subject, I claim for myself as a man, the right to do as much for my own country as Englishmen have always made it their boast that it was their right and duty to do for their country. And I think that is a nobler loyalty than the sentimental twaddle we so often hear of the necessity of our considering the effect on British policy, even though the interests of the whole population of Canada may be sacrificed thereby. Moreover, I believe the material interests of England would be better served by making Canada as a whole a prosperous country than by insisting too strongly upon the question whether or not a small portion of the comparatively insignificant trade now carried on between the two countries will be affected by any legislation we might have recourse to. I always hold that it is our right and our duty to look not to how a certain measure may affect a few English manufacturers or exporters, but how it will affect the masses of the community here, and how it affects those who deserve more consideration at your hands, the million or more of your fellow-countrymen who have been expatriated within the last few years. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, there are some other questions upon which I would like to have spoken, but the condition of my voice and the lateness of the hour prevent me from dwelling on them at length. But let me say a word or two upon one point. Such conventions as this are good, platforms are good, agitation is good, public speeches are good. But you must remember that you have a severe task before you. Over and above all these things, there is an immense amount of hard, downright, prosaic work which cannot be done without the expenditure of time and without a considerable amount of funds being placed at the disposal of your organizing body. You cannot expect to conquer unless you enter the struggle as a trained body. You must have organization if you are to have discipline, and if you are to have discipline you must provide funds, without which no political party can maintain an adequate organization. I know that there are men in Canada, perhaps many among those whom I am now addressing, who have made and are still making great sacrifices for the sake of their party. I know there are many constituencies that do their duty and perhaps more; but I am aware also that for a considerable number of years back, the party, speaking collectively has not done what it ought to have done in the way of providing an adequate organization. You will stand but a small chance of victory unless that error be repaired and some adequate organization be provided in the period between the present moment and the approaching election. For the rest, I have only to say that you now go before the people with such proofs as I think were never

laid before any community in the world as to the result that have followed the system of protection and of the corruption which has prevailed in Canada for so many years. You have simply to turn to the records of the proceedings of last session, in fact of the last two sessions of the present Parliament, to show any intelligent and fair minded man in Canada proofs of the deliberate and shameless venality with which our public affairs have been managed. You have only to turn up the census to give proofs of the injuries done to the people of the country. I cannot, for my part, believe that these proofs will be offered in vain; I cannot believe that the people of Canada will show themselves so dead and lost to everything that ought to move a free people to action as to allow these statements and evidences to pass unnoticed. However that may be, however deeply the taint has penetrated in the last fourteen years, I believe there is good ground for thinking that if you will organize yourselves, if you will train and discipline yourselves, you have now a better chance of having victory perch upon your banners than for many long years past. This very Convention is a proof of it; it is evidence that there are in Canada seven thousands of good men and true, who have not bowed to the knee to Baal. And the records of the last general election show that these seven thousand were able to muster nearly seventy times seven thousand at the polls in protest against the system under which our country was being depopulated and our property destroyed. I have never pretended to say that you will have an easy victory, but I do believe that if you are true to yourselves, if you will discipline and organize, if you choose to make use of the facts now accumulated, if you choose every man to do his duty during the succeeding year or so which will elapse before you are called upon to meet your enemies at the polls, that I shall be able to congratulate you upon having freed yourselves and your country from a tyranny, which is none the less, but all the more reprehensible because it is carried on under form of law, and because it has made no small portion of our people the accomplices in their own degradation.

ADDRESS BY MR. A. H. GILLMOR, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN:—I want your attention for a few minutes longer. There has been a feeling that you are satisfied in regard to the matter brought before you, but you will not regret to hear for ten or fifteen minutes something from Mr. Gillmor, of Charlotte.

Mr. A. H. GILLMOR, M.P., Charlotte, N.B.:—Mr. Chairman, This is a fine way for the Prime Ministers and orators of the different Provinces to get rid of a difficult matter, by calling on me to address a tired audience at this late hour of the evening. I could not interest this audience very much, even if they were not weary with much speaking. And although many have left on account of the lateness of the hour this is the largest audience I ever attempted to address. I should feel more inspiration in addressing you if you had brought your wives and sweethearts with you. Sir Richard anticipates an election shortly. I do not, but even so, it

is a matter of small importance to me. I have got used to elections. I have been running them for forty years and have usually carried the elections, but it has been my lot to be in the minority most of the time in Parliament. It would be gratifying to me to have the principles of our party triumph so that I would be in the majority in Parliament before I leave the field. I think, Mr. President, that I can see the dawning of a brighter day for Canada, and believe that the conscience and the intelligence of Canada has been quickened, and that a majority of the people have come to the conclusion that they have been protected almost to death. The farmers, the fishermen, the lumbermen, the teachers, the lawyers and ministers and doctors, have been protected for fifteen years, on precisely the same plan as the man was who went down from Jerusalem to Jerico. They have been robbed right and left for the benefit of a few people, and I entertain the opinion that Canada is in a most deplorable condition, as compared with what she ought to be, considering the opportunities she enjoys. The Liberal Conservatives really boast of the amount of our trade. Our imports and exports amount to \$240,000,000. This for five millions of Canadians, with a broad continent at their disposal, with its mines, its forests, its fisheries and its broad and fertile acres unsurpassed by any country, is a poor showing. Look at little Holland, with a little more than four millions of population, with an export and import trade of \$950,000,000. Why is this so? Is one Dutchman equal to four Canadians? The whole of their territory is not as large as New Brunswick. Have the Hollanders a better opportunity to produce? Has Switzerland a better opportunity to produce, or has England? (Ories of No, no!) The reason is that these countries encourage foreign trade, while Canada discourages it. England's foreign trade is three billions of dollars annually. We have not come to starvation yet, but if we had a dense population under our system, you would see distress. Our people have been taxed out of the country. You can get rid of anything that is useful and desirable by taxation. Tax trade and you will have less trade and less profits. If you want to get rid of dogs tax them high enough and you won't have any dogs. Mr. Chairman, you put a high enough tax on poodle dogs in Ottawa and the richest ladies won't have many poodles. Tax glass high enough and you won't have many windows nor much light. Tax ships and you won't have many ships or much trade for them. This National Policy is making everything we want scarce and dear. Mr. Chairman, forty years ago I issued in a humble way my little election card; it contained three principles. There were three planks in my platform. One was that every child born in the country had a right to an education, whether his parents were able to give it to him or not; if they could not, the property should be taxed for that purpose. Another plank was manhood suffrage. At that time no one could vote who had not some interest in real estate, and I was also in favor of free trade pure and simple. I have known a good many free traders since I entered politics, but both parties have tried how not to get

it. There are a great many free traders now. There is the revenue tariff free trader, and the freer trade free trader, and the fair trade freetrader. But I want nothing better than free untaxed trade; that is good enough for me. I do not understand why five millions of people cannot put twenty or thirty or forty millions of dollars of taxation on themselves for public purposes in some other way than by a tariff on trade to obstruct and make it expensive and difficult to trade. I do understand that indirect taxation is a humbug and takes out of the poor what ought to come out of the rich. Talk about a revenue tariff. You have in the Cabinet thirteen Ministers and Commissioners who cost you in round numbers \$250,000 a year, besides the pickings, and you have an army of thousands all over this country watching everybody who buys anything they want and brings it home. Down in my country we have a town guarded by quite a number of this class of officials, and we know how this system works. An acquaintance of mine, a short time ago had occasion to visit a town on the other side of the line. While there he bought a fig of tobacco and six apples. On his return he was assailed and the fig of tobacco was taken from him. That is a splendid system, a fine way to get the revenue for this country. I see, Mr. Chairman, that the audience is now in good humor, and it is a good opportunity now for some of the gentlemen who were to speak to get up and make their speech. (Cries of Go on, go on!) I have the impression that the principles of the Liberal party are going to triumph and that we are going to win. I fancy I see the handwriting on the wall that the National Policy has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and I believe the Conservatives feel it also. I was not in favor of this Convention, but I am pleased now and glad I came. It is pleasant to be here and meet so many friends, for as "Iron sharpeneth iron, so does the countenance of a man his friend." I only wish you had brought more ladies. We were told when the National Policy was introduced by Sir Leonard Tilley to spread all sail for the favoring breeze. Make money, young men, he said, you will have years of prosperity and good times. Did you ever, when you went to school, see in the primer the picture of a donkey who was coaxed to go by fastening a stick between his ears, with a bunch of clover just a little beyond his nose. He would run a mighty long time before he could catch it about as long as the people of Canada will have to run before they will have good times under the principle of protection. We have been chasing the promised clover for fifteen years and we are no nearer now than when we started. Sir Leonard Tilley and Sir Charles Tupper found the bunch of clover and the good times, for one has been the High Commissioner in London, and the other has been Lieutenant-Governor nearly all the time since the people of this country were started on this foolish chase. Canada is not at all in the condition she ought to be, considering the energy of our people and the opportunities we have. We have not only taxed trade out of the country, but we have taxed the young men and women out of the country, and instead of being here to cheer and gladden the hearts and homes of

Canada, they have gone to enrich and benefit a foreign land. The fault is not so much in the taxation that is levied for general purposes, but when the people are taxed for the benefit of private individuals it is an injustice the people should not submit to. There is no truer principle in political economy than that taxation is a burden, even when it is levied for legitimate purposes. No one likes taxes. We do pray for our daily bread, but no one thanks the Lord for a tax of seventy-five cents a barrel on flour. Just now there is a committee of the Government travelling over the country to get information about how to levy a tariff. They will, of course, consult only the protected or infant industries. The Government are supposed to be the independent arbitrators to levy taxes justly and equitably from all the people, and to disburse the money honestly in the public interest. The object of this committee is to look after these infant industries that are now fifteen years old. These infant industries will never become full grown. A preacher took for his text the story of the Prodigal Son; in the course of his sermon he said, "The poor prodigal had wandered for years, and years, and years, and his father had mourned for him for years, and years, and years; and when he returned, he fell upon his neck and embraced him, and told the servants to go and kill the calf he had kept for years, and years, and years." Now these infant industries are like the fattened calf, always sucking, and they never will get weaned. These infants are never ready to have their protective tariff taken off. You suggest a reduction of tariff to them, and they will look so lean and miserable that you would pity them from the bottom of your heart, but when they feel that the tariff is safe for them, they swell to enormous proportions and display their carriages and footmen, and their eyes stick out with fatness; but intimate that you are going to reduce the tariff, and they begin to shrivel and look as miserable as the N. P. is now looking. You will remember, Mr. Chairman, when this N. P. was first introduced, what grand proportions it had, how it stood, as it were, with one foot on the sea and the other on dry land, and going to carry all before it. And how is it looking now? Mean and lean and contemptible as protection always will look when seen in its true colors. I am delighted with the speeches I have heard to-night. Our leaders propose to follow the example of England in trade matters. You cannot find so good an example in all the world. England has some faults, for all human institutions have some imperfections, but she has fought the best battles for the world that have ever been fought, and one of the best she ever fought was the battle for free trade. English free trade is good enough for me. Talk about conditions; conditions do not affect it at all. Give us free trade in Canada, and we will produce what the country is intended to produce and can produce better than any other country, and then we will build our ships, and man them with Canadian sailors, and these ships will go laden with our products to other parts of the world, and will bring back the goods we want in exchange. Talk about commerce under a system of protection, with ships coming into your Montreal



harbor, loaded with mud, which is thrown out, and then contracts are made with the Connolly's to dredge it out again. You want free trade, and then your ships will be loaded both ways instead of only one, while you have to pay two freights for carrying one cargo. I do not wonder, Mr. Chairman, that the people are poor under this system of protection. Under it they have been obliged to sell their surplus products in the cheapest markets in the world, for no Government can prevent that, and then they have to buy what they want in the dearest markets; or, if they buy in the cheapest, they are met at our custom houses with a tariff which makes their goods so dear that it is impossible to prosper. Talk about progress in Canada; we have made none in comparison with what we ought to have made. We have made some progress, for we live in an age when civilization is further advanced than it ever was before, and we have the advantage of all the inventions and discoveries of every kind to help us along, but the Government with its silly system of protection is keeping us back all it can. Commodore Perry, in one of his Arctic voyages, got on the ice and travelled due north ten days, at the rate of twelve miles a day, and his company had to strain every nerve to do that. At the end of that time he took an observation, and found that the ice on which he was travelling had been floating south twelve miles a day, so with all their efforts and toil they were no farther ahead than when they started. And that is the progress Canada has made under this protective system. We have been working hard, but we have only been marking time and not marching. You have seen soldiers marking time; it is more tedious and tiresome than marching; so Canada has for fifteen years been marking time instead of going ahead.

Mr. THOMAS MURRAY, ex-M.P., Pontiac:—I do not appear in order to make a speech, but merely to propose that this Convention do now adjourn to meet again to-morrow forenoon at eleven o'clock. I am sure you will remember the speeches you have heard to night. There will be other speakers to-morrow whom you have not heard, and whom, I feel sure, you will be pleased to hear.

The motion was carried, and the Convention adjourned, to meet at eleven o'clock on the following morning.

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## SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Convention resumed its sitting at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 21st June. Sir Oliver Mowat presiding. After preliminary business,

The CHAIRMAN:—Gentlemen:—Most of the speaking hitherto has been in English, and a few words only have been spoken in French. I am sure that you will agree with me that our fellow-Canadians who prefer the French tongue should have the opportunity of hearing matters explained in the language they love. It has been arranged, therefore, that the pro-

ceedings this forenoon should commence with a speech in the French language by our friend Mr. Joly.

HON. MR. JOLY "EN FRANCAIS."

Hon. H. G. JOLY (Translation):—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—First let me congratulate you upon the success of this Convention. This is an event unique in the history of Canada, and I am sure that the remembrance of this day will never fade from your memory. In a short time we are to separate and return to our homes. We shall be asked by our friends who sent us here, who have been unable to enjoy with us the pleasures of this occasion, "What have you seen in Ottawa; what have you done?" We shall be able to make answer: "We have seen a sight most gratifying to all those whose ambition is to see all Canadians united as one people. We have seen our great leader addressing a vast multitude of representative men from all parts of the Dominion, cheered not only by those of his own race, but with even greater fervor by those of different race, from the Province of Ontario and the other English speaking Provinces." Why should it be so? The reason is easy to find; they appreciate his devotion, his talents, but above all they respect him for his manliness. What especially pleases the people of the English speaking Provinces with respect to Mr. Laurier, is the courage he has always manifested in their presence. Knowing that his feelings on some points could not be in entire harmony with theirs, those who judged him by the usual standard of politicians thought he would have one measure for Ontario and another for Quebec. When he went to Toronto he spoke as he spoke in his own Province, and he won the people by his frankness and courage. The men of Ontario know how to appreciate the manly qualities of our leader, and they admire him for declaring openly what policy might compel a less courageous man to hide. What Mr. Laurier insists upon is not so much that his party shall achieve office, but rather that it shall achieve office by fair and honorable means, and for the good of the country, and that is the course which must win the approval of the people. When you return to your homes, you will be asked: "What can we hope from the labors of the great Liberal Convention?" I cannot yet speak of the final result of our deliberations, they have not proceeded far enough; but I feel sure from the tone of unanimity that has hitherto been manifested, that the platform of the Liberal party will be set forth in no uncertain terms. I cannot but look back upon the past in comparison with the present condition of affairs. We find now the same condition of depression and hardship as prevailed in 1878. But contrast the position taken by the leader of the Opposition of to-day with that taken by Sir John Macdonald, the leader of the Opposition of 1878. Contrast also the position taken in 1878 by Sir John Macdonald and that taken by Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, then Premier. What was Mr. Mackenzie's position? There was at that time a terrible commercial crisis, worldwide in its effect, but resting heavily

upon the people of Canada as well as upon those of other countries. Sir John Macdonald taunted the Government with its inability to restore prosperity, to create prosperity by legislation. And Mr. Mackenzie's answer was, "No, we cannot create prosperity by legislation. This crisis commenced not in Canada but in the United States, and it affects almost every part of the world; it is impossible for us to escape the effects of this worldwide disaster." A public man who desires to do his duty, above all things must submit to be misrepresented. Alexander Mackenzie knew, what the people should learn and should never forget, that in such crises as that which then existed, the people must help themselves by economy, by patience, by industry. Such was his answer, and he showed his wisdom by it. "I refuse," he said, "to adopt any of the means you suggest; they are not a cure for the evil; they will only make it worse." Sir John Macdonald went before the country. You remember his speeches: "Your doctor does not understand your case; he has no remedy for your illness; he can only recommend patience; but I have a remedy which is infallible, try it. I have a panacea for all these ills, '*the National Policy*.'" Now, gentlemen, you have tried the National Policy for fifteen years; surely these wise doctors cannot complain that you have not given their remedy a fair trial, or that you have not shown patience in waiting for results. I remember well when the question of protection first came up, and admit that I hoped some good would come of it. It struck me that Canada was being used as a "dumping ground" for their surplus productions by foreign manufacturers, and that this must be stopped if our budding industries were not to suffer extinction. But it soon became evident that Sir John Macdonald's only object in this agitation was to return to power and he succeeded. Mr. Mackenzie was defeated, but his defeat was an honorable one; no stain rested upon his name, and his memory will be perpetuated by the grandest of all monuments, the simple record of his public life. But what are the results of the National Policy? It was, above all, to help the farmer; he is now worse off than ever. It was to build up our manufactures. It has done so, at a great sacrifice for the country at large, but it has not found an outlet for their produce. The soil in which they grew has been enriched to such an extent, that, like an overgrown tree, they cannot support themselves, and now there is talk of lopping away the mouldering branches. There is no question but that in Canada we have developed some lines of manufacturing to a most exaggerated degree. The only way in which our factories can be kept alive, such as cotton factories, sugar refineries, and so on, is by checking free and honest competition, and by forming combines under which the smaller factories are crushed out of existence, and the control of the trade put into the hands of a few monopolists. And so, many factories which were started in the era of artificial activity, and upon which the people have learned to depend, are now closed, and their working people thrown out of employment. There is no more free industry. We are told that it is better for us, even under these circumstances, to maintain the system, for the reason that the pro-

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HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON, M.P.P.,  
ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF MANITOBA—Vice-Chairman of the Convention.



ducts of our factories are so much better than the goods we could import from abroad. You, gentlemen, are as well able to judge of that as the so called statesmen who maintain this policy. Is it the fact? Especially is it advantageous to us to pay twenty-five or thirty per cent. more for our goods rather than import them from abroad. In a farming community such as this, we should be allowed to import agricultural implements free of duty. I know from personal experience, especially from what I saw in Manitoba, that the manufacturers in Canada do not take advantage of the high duty to improve their own goods for the benefit of the people of Canada. They take that thirty per cent. and put it in their own pockets, and that is the main result of the National Policy. In 1878, I did what I could to support Mr. Mackenzie, though I was tempted to hope for some good results from protection, as I always, from his first appearance in public life until his death, trusted his integrity and wisdom. But I found that in too many cases the people were led away by the specious promises made by Sir John Macdonald and his friends. Experience has proven not only that Alexander Mackenzie was honest in his efforts, but that he was right in his conclusion that the adoption of a protective policy would be injurious to the country. On every hand we see indications that the people are no longer to be deceived by mere promises which cannot be fulfilled. We will return to the policy of Alexander Mackenzie. We will do justice to his memory, and we will follow in his footsteps under the leadership of the Honorable Wilfrid Laurier.

#### THE MEMBER FOR L'ISLET, MR. TARTE.

The CHAIRMAN :—We shall now be addressed by another gentlemen of the French race. Our French-Canadian friends have the advantage over us, in that they speak equally well in both languages. I am now to have the pleasure of introducing to you a gentleman whom I am sure all will be glad to hear. He has become well known in recent years through every part of the Dominion. We have not always agreed with him in the past, and I have no doubt there are matters on which we shall not agree with him now; but, nevertheless, we shall be delighted to see him, and delighted to hear him speak. He is known to us all as an able, independent, fearless and persevering politician, and a leading member of Parliament. I need hardly tell you that I now refer to the honorable member for L'Islet, Mr. Tarte.

MR. J. ISRAEL TARTE, M.P., L'Islet (Translation):—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I thank you for the cordiality of your reception. I have the honor to represent the County of L'Islet, which, in my case, reversed the decision it gave in the general election of 1891, and was the first to give the signal of triumph for the Liberal party. Vaudreuil followed, and these two victories have given the keynote for this great demonstration. Permit me to congratulate you, my fellow-countrymen of every Province, upon the splendid success of this demonstration, which includes representatives from every part of the Dominion. Permit me to con-

gratulate you, my compatriots of the French race, that we are so well represented, and that among the leaders are men of our own race of whom every delegate in this Convention is justly proud. This Convention has attracted no little attention, and the people throughout the Dominion are waiting with eagerness to see what decision we shall give upon important matters of public policy. So great is this interest that yesterday a pamphlet was sent out, written by Archbishop Taché asking this Convention to pronounce upon questions upon which, thus far, the Government has not said a word. But we proposed the solution of this question in Parliament last session, which the Government did not see fit to accept. The Government of Sir John Thompson misled the Catholic hierarchy on the question of the schools. But our attitude last session did not meet the approval of those who come forward to speak now, or those who publish pamphlets. We have the advantage of them in this that we propose to put at the head of affairs in the early future a man who has the confidence not only of the Catholic minority, but of the Protestant majority as well. We have as our allies in the Province of Ontario men in whom the Roman Catholics of Quebec have every reason to feel confidence. We have as one of our allies yourself, Mr. Chairman. Gentlemen, I need not tell this audience that Sir Oliver Mowat is one of the greatest leaders that Ontario ever had. The French-Canadian population should remember the courageous stand Sir Oliver took on the question of the schools in his own Province. If we have our Separate Schools in Ontario, if we have the French language taught in the schools we owe these things so dear to us, to the courage and fairmindedness of Sir Oliver Mowat. My presence among you to day, gentlemen, is proof that I have changed my party allegiance; it is not proof that I repudiate my past. Nor have I any reason to feel any doubt or regret with regard to the position I now take. The Dominion cannot be governed by one class or race regardless of the rights or wishes of others. I find in the Liberal party men from every Province with whom I can work cordially and without fear that my rights will be invaded. It is some years ago since I began to realize the weaknesses of Mr. Clarke Wallace and to understand that the allies in Ontario of the Conservative party were not men with whom any could work who were not prepared to give up everything at the behest of these men. The firm hand of Sir John Macdonald alone could check those who desired to abolish separate schools and the teaching of the French language throughout the Dominion. Not desiring to be a party to such interference with the people's rights, I could not agree to an alliance between the French-Canadians of the Province of Quebec and the Conservatives of Ontario. But I believe that Mr. Laurier and his allies are in a position to do justice to all classes. I have demanded of the French-Canadian ministers what they have done with the French language in Manitoba. I have declared to them: You might have disallowed the Act passed by the Manitoba Government, but you have not done so. In return they only ask us what we would do with the question which they have so deeply

compromised. They ask Mr. Laurier, who has no responsibility, to give them counsel on that question. The bishops interceded with the Government to prevent the abolition of the separate schools.

A voice:—Shame.

Mr. TARTE:—Not shame on the bishops for they are men of honor and dealt with the Government as such. But, being men of honor, they could not bind the ministers upon whom considerations of honor had no effect. Mr. Chapleau was the man to whom we looked for the defence of our rights. With his prestige and his splendid eloquence he might have played a great part. But he lacked energy and decision of character. I am glad the leaders of that day have disappeared and have been replaced by those now in the ministry. First, there is Mr. Ouimet, the Minister of Public Works. Mr. Ouimet is a fellow six feet high and the greatest man among the French-Canadians in the Cabinet.

Mr. LAURIER:—If not the greatest, at least the longest.

Mr. TARTE:—Mr. Ouimet went to war in the North-West and returned without any wounds of which we have heard. But documents will see the light some day which will show that if he had wounds they were not those received in battle. Mr. Ouimet solemnly promised Mr. Chapleau that he would not accept a portfolio. But as soon as Mr. Chapleau's back was turned, Mr. Ouimet filed an appearance in Ottawa, and accepted the portfolio of Public Works. Now, let us pass to another of these ministers, Sir Adolphe Caron. He is a military man also, but he has also made requests of which history does not speak. At this moment the situation does not seem very comfortable or the prospect very bright for him. But he has arms in his hands which make him formidable, at least to his colleagues, and enable him with effect to threaten that if they turn him out he will batter down the whole fabric of the Government. Otherwise he is without weight and without influence. The third minister of the French race is Mr. Angers, Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Angers is a man of whom at one time I entertained great hopes. We were comrades in the great Letellier fight for the sacred principle which was then affirmed that the Lieutenant Governor was not greater than the Queen and that he had no right summarily to dismiss his ministers. But it is only a short time since Mr. Angers himself, as Lieutenant-Governor, did the very thing which he so strongly condemned in Mr. Letellier. Mr. Angers put himself on record as being in favor of a constitutional governor, but when he himself was appointed governor he made himself dictator. He passed over his responsible ministers and accepted for his guidance a report from the Senate on the Baie des Chaleurs matter, and upon that report he dismissed his advisers. If Mr. Angers believed he did right in that matter he had the opportunity to win the endorsement of the people by facing me in the contest in L'Islet, as many of his friends wished him to do. But he avoided facing the people in that or any other county by betaking himself to the Senate. He did well not to appeal to the people in L'Islet, for had he done so he would have been rebuked by overwhelming



defeat. These three men, now in the Cabinet, supposed to represent the interests of the French-Canadians, are men without influence, without weight, and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the rights of the people have been sacrificed in the Province of Quebec. But I have already talked too long. Let me say this before sitting down—that it is time for the French element in all the Provinces to unite, not in menace of the other races, not with ill feeling toward any, but to enforce the recognition of their own rights. I do not think the Tory party in Ontario wishes to respect the rights of the minority. But I am sure that aggression and unfairness will avail them nothing, for, after all, as our English friends say, "Honesty is the best policy." Honesty is the best policy for races and creeds as well as for individuals. The desire of the French race to-day is only to hold those institutions that are dear to them and scrupulously to respect the rights of others. We have been the pioneers in this country; we have done our share in making the country what it is, and surely it will not be denied that we have some rights here. The Conservative party in the Province of Quebec seek to make it appear that I am in alliance with Mr. D'Alton McCarthy. That is a calumny. They say that I presented a resolution in the House on the subject of the schools, for which motion Mr. McCarthy voted. It is true that Mr. McCarthy voted with me on that occasion, but he had his own reasons for doing so. The Tories in the House have voted to sustain the scandalous position of Mr. Clarke Wallace, who declared that the men of Ulster would rise against Home Rule and would rebel against the Queen if the bill was passed, and that he approved their course and would help them to carry on war against the Sovereign. And Mr. McCarthy approved of that position. It is hardly likely that I would form an alliance with a man of such opinions. I took part in the organization of this Convention, and I found much enthusiasm manifested everywhere. We have only to advance steadily, making no error, and victory is sure, for the Conservative party no longer has the confidence of the country at large. We have a policy upon which all Liberals can unite and a leader in whom all patriotic and honorable men have unbounded confidence.

There were cries of "In English."

Mr. TARTE, speaking in English, said :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I don't speak very well in French, and I am very sorry to say that I speak very badly in English. Still, as you are kind enough to call upon me to say a few words, I must submit. Gentlemen, you all know that I am an old Tory, that I have committed many sins, but at the same time I am bound to say that I have made up my mind to do a little better if I can. For the last two years I think I have to a certain extent made up for the past waste of time. My friend, the Hon. Mr. Laurier, and myself have been, even in the past, on very friendly terms. I have not always been in accord with his political views, but I have always found in him a man of honor and a man of great ability. One good morning

came when I saw the errors of my past, and I found in myself enough courage to tell my associates of the past that I could not any more work in harmony with them. I suppose I could not be accused to-day of having gone from the weaker to the stronger party.

A voice :—Stronger in honesty and the right.

Mr. TARTE :—But I have come over to you when brilliant offers were made to me to remain.

A voice :—We welcome you.

Mr. TARTE :—I came over to you, as my friend, Mr. Laurier knows, when, if I had been a corrupt man, I would have been able to make a good thing out of remaining with my old party friends. But I found in my heart and conscience enough courage to tell me that it was better to follow the path of duty and the path of honor. I think if the Conservative party of the Dominion had had representatives at this magnificent gathering the result of the next election would be already decided. We are making for a platform and a programme that will be acceptable to any honest man. The platform will be open to the acceptance of any man who has at heart the welfare of the country. I have spoken in French of the rights of the minority. Although I cannot express myself in English with the same facility as in French, I must say to you in English what I think, because, as I said a minute ago, "honesty is the best policy." I appeal to you, my English fellowcountry-men, to give me five minutes of your good attention. We are accused by the Tory papers of the Province of Ontario of raising prejudices and religious hatred. The motion I have made in the House of Commons on the school question is attacked upon all sides. I have been represented to you as a fanatical man. Gentlemen, I feel that I am not that sort of man, but I feel that I am a man who has enough courage to say in French and to say in English what he thinks is right. I feel, gentlemen, that when the French element have acquired rights they must not be trampled upon. I feel that all citizens of this Dominion have the same rights on this broad soil of America. We don't ask for anything more than that, but we won't take anything less, and we feel that with the Liberal party we are safe on that ground. On that school question we are in no way responsible for the difficulties existing to-day. We are not in power. We did nothing to make us responsible for the present position of affairs. Before the elections of 1891 (and what I am saying now I am prepared to prove) Sir John Macdonald, the then Prime Minister, sent to Archbishop Tache the Hon. Mr. Chapleau, who was Secretary of State, with full power and authority to negotiate with Archbishop Tache about that school question. What was agreed was this : It was agreed that Sir John Macdonald should not disallow the law, because it might injure the Toronto element ; but Mr. Chapleau, who is still living, who has read my words uttered in the House of Commons, and who does not deny any one of them, pledged himself that after the elections were over, if the courts of justice, to which the case was then submitted, decided against us, the Government

would take the matter into its own hands. There was the pledge. We said at the time, and we say now, that it was a deceitful and a shameful pledge. Members of Her Majesty's Privy Council have no right to make such pledges. Well, Sir, the pledge was made. Archbishop Tache is living, and Mr. Chapleau is living, and I challenge either of them to deny the fact. My English fellow-countrymen, you should not be surprised if we insist upon having that pledge carried out. That pledge was given to us. It was not given only to Archbishop Tache. I knew of that pledge myself, as did others. We were given a formal pledge—and let my words be heard everywhere—that the Government itself would settle the question, and if Archbishop Tache can deny it, I challenge him to do so. If Mr. Chapleau can deny it, I challenge him to do so. But the question has been referred to the courts of justice. We are all law-abiding citizens. The Catholic bishops have adopted this solution of the case. M. Laurier has never been invited to arrange this matter, and I am sure they have never consulted me. They have appealed to the courts; let the courts decide. But let it be well understood that, whatever may be the decision of the courts of justice on any question, the rights are the same after all. We may be obliged to submit to the law, as all citizens are obliged to submit to it, but I claim, all the same, that our rights have been infringed by this Tory Government at Ottawa. This is our position, we are ready to stand by our declarations, but we don't want to be misunderstood. Now, I have said a few words to you as well as I could. When I was 27 years old I could not speak one solitary word of English. I was born in a French parish and I was ten years old before knowing that there were any English people on the surface of the earth, but my boys won't be in the same position. I have a boy nineteen years old who could address you in better English than I can myself. Don't believe what some people say, that we are not progressive men in the Province of Quebec. We are progressive men. When I read the *Mail* and the *Empire*, insinuating, and even saying, that we are a retrograde lot of habitants, I come to the conclusion that they don't know what we are. Come down and see us. I invite you to visit my own fine county of L'Islet. Come and see us, and you will find to-day in the old Province of Quebec men willing to work hand-in-hand with you. You will find a lot of men of whom my friend here (Mr. Laurier) is the worthy and revered chief.

#### MR. LAURIER IN FRENCH.

CHAIRMAN:—Our chief is now with us and will address you again.

MR. LAURIER (Translation):—Mr. Tarte has told you that for twenty years his political life belonged to the Conservative party. No one knows that better than I do. We went to college together and were friends there, but when we left college our paths in political life diverged; I entered the Liberal party and he identified himself with the Conservative party. Gentlemen, Mr. Tarte followed the example of St. Paul, who, as

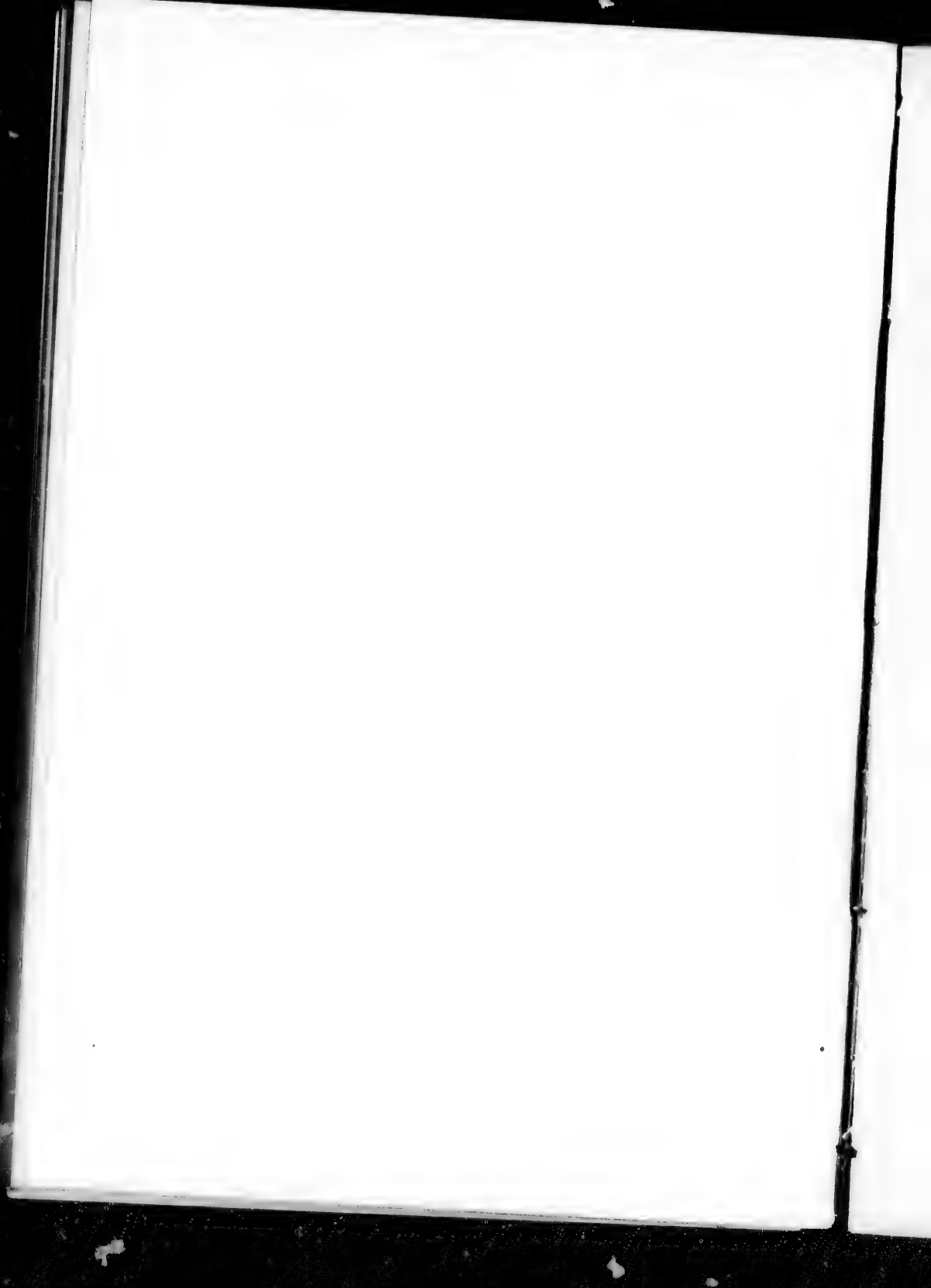
you know, commenced his career by persecuting the Christians. During a long time Mr. Tarte persecuted the Christians, that is the Liberals. Indeed, if I have the honor of being now member for Quebec East, I owe it chiefly to Mr. Tarte, he being mainly instrumental in defeating me in Drummond and Athabaska. There is one thing that every man who ever knew Mr. Tarte must admire him for, and that is that he has always displayed heart and courage. The speech which he has just made both in French and in English gives ample evidence that he has the courage of his convictions. The man who has only one language need have only one story to tell, but the man I admire is he, who having a knowledge of both languages, whether speaking in one or the other and whether speaking in one part of the country or the other has always the same story. For my part I have said it in the Province of Quebec and I am proud to repeat it here, before all things I am a Canadian. It is French blood that flows in my veins, and I am proud of my race and of my origin. But I have said in Parliament, in my own Province and in the Province of Ontario, that before all things I am a Canadian. I remember having read at one time of Daniel O'Connell delivering an address in Edinburgh in which he said:— I love England, I love Scotland, but why should I not proclaim it, Ireland has the first place in my affection. And why should I not say in the same spirit that I love the various nationalities which make up the Canadian people, but the first place in my heart is for those of my own language and my own race. What I say now I have freely said in the English language and why should I not repeat it in my own? If I did not love those of my own race and cling to that race I should be unworthy of the position I hold. When I tell you that the first place in my heart is for my own race and my own language, I tell you immediately after that I ask no favors for my own people, but the same measure of justice for all. There is one thing about this Convention that pleases me above everything else, and that is that so many of my French-Canadian fellow-countrymen are here. It may be that we are a little distance out of our own accustomed ways, but all can see that we feel thoroughly at home, and that there is mutual confidence between us and our fellow Liberals from the English speaking Provinces. I can assure you, my compatriots of French origin, that our fellow citizens of Ontario are ready on all occasions to extend to us the right hand of fellowship. There is one thing I have to deplore and that is the condition of things which we are seeking to change. Remember that there are in the territory of the United States over one million of our fellow-countrymen who should be with us in Canada, a great many of them from your own Province. I wish the great principles of the Liberal party could be well understood, for once they are understood there will be a more just view taken of public affairs. I declare to you solemnly that I have never hesitated to say that my political principles are entirely derived from the great English Liberal school. I do not remember the time when I did not proclaim myself a Liberal of the English school, the school of Fox in the last century, and of Gladstone in this. I hope soon to see the day when these

principles shall triumph. This is the first time since Confederation that we have seen the Liberals of all parts of the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific meeting together as they now do to discuss the condition of our common country. We should go away inspired with the determination to achieve victory for the principles we hold. I believe that the days of the Conservative Government are numbered; I believe that that party, now on trial before the bar of public opinion is already condemned. The very fact that there are in a foreign country a million of our own people who would have been with us but for the policy of this Government, is of itself enough to condemn them. I can understand emigration from a country like England, already over-populated; I can understand emigration from a country like Ireland, oppressed as it has been; I can understand emigration from Germany and other countries crushed with military despotism. But these institutions do not exist among us to explain emigration from our own country so rich in resources and with so sparse a population. There is no explanation possible, except that something is radically wrong in the policy of the Government. If our people emigrate it is not because the resources of our country do not offer opportunities for labor and the earning of a livelihood, but because the policy of the Government instead of being one of justice to all is a policy of favors to certain classes at the expense of the great body of the people. During the last few years the prices of agricultural products have declined, while at the same time taxation has steadily increased. Bitter complaints are made of the exactions of the Quebec Government, which has resorted to one form of direct taxation in order to replenish its revenue. But these are not the taxes of which the people of Quebec have the greatest reason to complain. That of which they have the greatest reason to complain is the taxation imposed by the Federal Government, which has its headquarters here in Ottawa. You have seen those beautiful buildings on Parliament Hill. The Government which has its headquarters in those buildings takes \$36,000,000 or more in the form of taxation every year. The ministers who spend that money you may be sure do not take it out of their own pockets; they take it from you, from me, from all the people of the country. That money is taken from your pockets by an ingenious system of taxation. The Government wields a magic wand the touch of which draws the money from your pockets without your understanding that the money is taken from you as taxation. If our countrymen would but reflect upon these matters, I am sure they would put an end to the policy which makes such things possible. The tax is levied indirectly, but the effect of it is none the less to take the money from you and to hand it over to the Government. Every one of you knows how much municipal taxes and how much school taxes you pay, and how much you pay for the support of the Provincial Government. But how many can tell how much they pay to the support of the Dominion Government? Take all the other taxes you have to pay and add them together and they do not amount to as much as you are required to pay to the Dominion Government? Every pound of nails, every axe, every yard

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CHARLES S. HYMAN, ESQ., EX-M.P.,  
Secretary of the Convention.



of cloth, everything you buy from your merchant is a medium through which you pay taxes to the Dominion Government. I hold that it is important that we should have a series of meetings in the Province of Quebec and elsewhere to explain these things to the people, for the people do not pay as much attention to these things as they ought. If they were understood the present Government would be chased out of power, just as the robbers were chased out of the temple. Now a word on the school question. As you know I took an attitude on that question in Parliament last session. Since then a pamphlet has been published by Archbishop Taché which many of you have seen. This pamphlet is intended to prove that the schools as at present constituted are not free schools but Protestant schools. "La Minerve," "Le Courier du Canada," "Le Verite" and all these other papers which become so exceedingly pious on the eve of an election are vociferously asking what Mr. Laurier will do about it. I ask in return what will the Government do? I am not responsible for the state of affairs. To read these papers one would suppose that I was the responsible party and that the Government had nothing to do with the matter. You hear it whispered with manifest glee in Conservative ranks that Mr. Laurier is caught. But if Mr. Laurier is caught, what is the position of the Government who have the responsibility, and have shifted it to the courts? The question is now a judicial one, and, so long as the courts have not decided, it would be folly to bring in before this Convention a question upon which at present no political action can be taken. The Government have done what it has always done in such cases—nothing. It had not the courage to move its little finger, for this was a troublesome question; if they did one thing they would irritate their Protestant following in Ontario, and if they did the other they would irritate their Catholic following in Quebec. I will tell you what I would do if I were prime minister; I would do justice no matter what the consequence might be and not shift away my responsibility. That is what I have to say, and I say it in the face of the whole country. I censured the conduct of the Government last session, and when the moment comes when the responsibility is placed upon me I shall not shirk, I shall not step back, I shall do my duty. Let me say to you one last word. We are near an election. When it will take place I do not know; I am not in the secrets of the gods whose Olympus is Parliament Hill. But we may have an election at any moment. Let me ask you that every man be at his place. I, as one, cannot do much perhaps, but what I can do shall be done. I will do my duty from now until the end.

There were loud cries of "English, English."

MR. LAURIER:—Gentlemen, it is now one o'clock, and it was understood that at this time we should adjourn until 2.30, when we expect to receive the report of the Committee on Resolutions, when it will be my agreeable duty to move one of the resolutions presented.

The meeting then adjourned until 2.30 p.m.



## SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention resumed its sitting at 2.30 P.M., Sir Oliver Mowat in the chair.

MR. FRASER, M.P. FOR GUYSBORO'.

CHAIRMAN :—The members of the Committee on Resolutions have not yet arrived, and, until they do, I propose to give you the opportunity to listen to some good speeches. The first I shall call upon will be Mr. Fraser, of Guysboro'.

MR. D. C. FRASER, M.P. Guysboro', N.S. :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :—The committee that was to have reported not having arrived, the Chairman was kind enough to ask me, in the absence of others who are to address you, to speak for a few moments, and I assure you that it is with great pleasure I receive the opportunity of addressing a word or two to this grand Convention. I am not going to discuss with you the merits of the trade question, for the members of the Liberal party here know all about that question. I am sure they have come here, as I have, to declare with no uncertain sound, here, in this capital of the Dominion, here in the hearing of the men who have been misgoverning us, that the people of Canada are determined upon a change. As I sat here yesterday and looked upon this magnificent gathering I was proud, for I saw an assemblage of men brought from all parts of the Dominion, not men who have come here to settle claims, not men who have come here to get contracts or offices or to beg for Government favors, not men brought here by the railways or at the expense of combines, but men who have come together to demand justice and to declare that the people shall no longer suffer from exactions for the benefit of a few favored classes. You have shown your leader by coming here, and by the enthusiasm you have manifested, that you are ready for the battle, and the temper of this Convention presages a victory for the cause you have at heart. I wish that Mr. Foster and Mr. Bowell were here. They could get more information about the state of trade and the requirements of the people of Canada from the men who are assembled here from the farms, the workshops, the mines, the fisheries and the great centres of trade than they can ever hope to gain from the few favored individuals with whom they sit closeted in secret conclave as they go about from point to point through the country. Of all the ridiculous farces ever seen in this world, the most ludicrous is this commission that is going about looking for information on the tariff question. They never thought how they would appear to the people. Their position reminds me of a Scotch laird who had a son with no more brains than he ought to have. But the father was proud of the boy and determined to send him out to see the world. Speaking to one of his tenants he said, "I am going to send the young laird abroad." "Ay," said the tenant, "what for?" "To see the world," "Lord, man," said the other, "and do ye no ken the world will see him?" Mr. Chairman,

and Gentlemen, these men never thought when they started to see the country, that the country would also see them. I am sure there is not a man before me to-day but has come here not merely to inform himself, not merely to have the pleasure of meeting and mingling with his fellow Liberals from all parts of the Dominion, but also with strong convictions drawn from his own experience determined not to listen to the cry of "Peace, peace!" when there is no peace, determined that we must have such a reform of the tariff as will give those who toil, who earn their living by the sweat of their brow, some chance to live in this country. But I believe, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, that this Convention will not have achieved its object unless we all return to our homes with our convictions deepened, our ardor stimulated, and our determination fixed beyond peradventure that from this day until we are called upon to vote we will so work that the ballots as they flutter into the boxes shall insure a victory for the principles of better trade laws in this country. As I listened last night to the exposition of principles by our leader I could not help feeling that in him we have one of whom we might well be proud, and that what he said must claim the attention and the assent of the people of this country. The results of the Committee's work will soon be before you. I do not expect that the platform as they present it, or as it may be adopted, will in every part meet the approval of all. We cannot hope to have perfect agreement upon these points. I do not expect myself to see in the platform all that I would like to see there. But I have patience and hope. I am told that I am somewhat cranky on these points. Be that as it may, I am satisfied that every inch of advance made by the Liberal party means more of success for the men who want reform in this country than the whole trend of the Conservative party. Every step taken by the Liberal party is a step in the interests of the whole people; every step taken by the Conservative party is a step to advance the interests of a certain portion of the people. I am not going to detain you. My parting word to you and to myself is that we must go from this Convention completely convinced, if we never were convinced before, that the principles we fight for are worthy to succeed and determined that the work that is entrusted to us shall be done by us. For after all we are more interested in this matter than Mr. Laurier or the men upon this platform. This is your battle; it is not the battle of the few. This is the battle of the homes of the people; this is the battle of the toiling men, of the patient mothers, of the children in the cradle. It is a battle to assert the rights of those who toil and labor to enjoy the products of that labor, and to overthrow the pretence that the wealth thus produced shall be tithed and tolled by Parliament for the benefit of a few. I believe that you will return to your several counties to start an intelligent crusade in this cause. For that reason I am glad we have begun so early, before the bitterness of party strife shall tend to close men's minds to the truth, and while we are still able to appeal to the consciences of our fellow citizens to join with us in affecting such changes in the laws as will secure justice for the toilers of

this country, so that thus we may lay broad and deep the foundations for a nationality which shall ensure to us and to our children the benefit of every blow we strike, of every effort we put forth, giving to the laborer the reward of his labor as God in his wisdom and justice designed.

MR. TAIT, M.P.P., TORONTO.

The CHAIRMAN :—We shall now have the pleasure of hearing Mr. Tait, of Toronto.

MR. JOSEPH TAIT, M.P.P., Toronto,—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : In some respects I am rather pleased to have the opportunity of looking upon this Convention from the platform, but in some respects it is not wholly pleasant to try and speak to an audience that is waiting for important business. Besides, you know I am not very well adapted to do anything in the professorial line, in teaching those who are to teach others. My education in that line has been rather neglected. So far as I have been able to do anything, it has been rather in the way of missionary efforts among the political heathen who still sit in darkness. Consequently on an occasion of this kind, my work would rather be in listening to others in order to pick up material for these missionary enterprises. I am glad to have been here to see so many Liberals ; I never saw so many (representing the different Provinces) together in one place before. Those of us who live in Ontario, and those who live in other portions of the Dominion are apt to think that we are the whole Liberal party and to forget the number of good Liberals who live in other parts of the Dominion. It does us good to come together, to see in the flesh those men with whose names we have become familiar through their noble efforts on behalf of the Liberal cause. I am sure that we shall go from this Convention animated by the spirit so forcibly expressed by the last speaker, and that we shall go forth with one voice demanding the removal of the evils of which we complain in order that we may substitute Government for the benefit of the whole people of the country. It is quite certain that the Convention will arrive at conclusions which will not fully meet the approval of some of us as individuals. But as we are a practical people, and as united action is necessary to success, I have no doubt that we shall unite upon a practical policy that will command the support, the hearty support of the people throughout this entire Dominion at the coming election whenever it may be brought on. Of course we do not know when the election will be. Our leader—and let me say to you French-Canadians that you have by no means a monopoly of admiration for the leader of our party. He is no more popular anywhere in Quebec than he is wherever he speaks in Ontario, and all that we regret is that we have not yet been able to get him to make a thorough campaign of our Province, because we know that for him to do so would be an assurance of success. Our leader says the time of the election, if it is known at all, is the secret of the gods whose paradise is on the Hill yonder, the Hill that gives them their living. I do not want to detain you. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") No ; under some cir-

cumstances it would be delightful to go on, but we have to get through our business and go home. I congratulate everybody in connection with this grand Convention. I have not had the pleasure of attending many Conventions, but I have not read the record of any in this country that can compare in magnitude, in importance, and in success with this. And if we do not content ourselves with effervescing and "enthusing" here, but will settle down to business and then go home to our different constituencies, report to our friends the grand success of the Convention and straightway begin work, hard, constant work, that will leave no stone unturned, we shall at the next election have the satisfaction of hailing our glorious leader, Wilfrid Laurier, no longer as leader of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition, but as the admired and trusted Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

DR. LANDERKIN, M.P.

The CHAIRMAN: A few moments ago there was a call for Dr. Landerkin. I have now much pleasure in introducing him to you.

Dr. GEORGE LANDERKIN, M.P., South Grey,—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen;—I am very glad to be at this Convention to-day and to see the large numbers that have assembled in response to the call of our leader. Looking over this Convention, I would be led to think that there must be a very large delegation here from Grey; you are such a respectable looking lot of people. The Reform party has always been a national party; this Convention is a Reform Convention, and it is formed on national lines. From one end of the Dominion to the other we have representation here. As our friends on the other side say, it is a warm day for the Convention. But I tell you it is a cold day for the people on the Hill. They understand the significance of this event and they will at once get their commissariat officers at work in force, and they will make heavy drafts upon your railway subsidies in order to defeat the will of the people which is shown by recent events to be in favor of the policy of the Liberal party. The gentlemen who come here from the North, from the South, from the East, and from the West to this Convention, have come because they love Canada, because they are devoted to Canada. There was no combine brought them here; no combine could produce such a meeting as we have here to-day. The members of the Reform party unite only on a platform which is designed to do good to the whole country. Now, I see, Gentlemen, that some of you have your coats off, and I hope you will keep them off until after the next election. Those who have not got your coats off now, take them off when you go home and set to work with all your might. I have been a considerable number of years in Parliament, (and, by the way, why they elected me I never could quite make out) and long as I have been there, I have never doubted the soundness of our platform. It is true that an era of demoralization followed upon the adoption of the system of protection, as it follows that system everywhere; but I believe that that era is drawing to a close. I believe that the people of Canada will sweep away the combines. I believe that

this Convention is at once the signal of the awakening of the people and the death knell of protection fraud. I was very glad indeed to hear my friend, Mr. Tarte, here to-day. I admired him very much. He admits that his past career has not been all that it ought to have been. He knows that now. But I knew it before, and so did you. But we hold out our hands to him, and we will take by the hand every man who acknowledges that he has been in the wrong and that he is willing to work with us for the benefit of Canada, our common, our beloved country. Our friends of the Tory press were very anxious about some people they expected to see here to-day, and I believe they are somewhat disappointed because these people are not here. It is very hard to please our friends on the other side. I have been trying for many years to please them but have never succeeded yet. And I am disposed to be amiable. The Reform party, as its history shows, will condemn wrong in Reformers as well as in others; we do not draw a line of distinction in that respect. If an act is wrong, we condemn it, no matter where it is done, or by whom. Some of our own friends were led astray by this N.P. bubble. You all know now what it is and what it ever has been. It is a fraud, and a curse upon the people of Canada. I can tell you here as a member of the Liberal party, and I believe every Liberal will say the same, we are ready to hold out our hands to the men who went astray, and welcome them back again, if they will acknowledge their error and try for the rest of their lives at least to be honest. Mr. Chairman, it affords me great pleasure to see you in this chair. One thing is certain, that when we have Sir Oliver in the chair we know that everything will be done as it ought to be. He will be just as careful in the chair here as he is in the chair at Toronto, where he has been ever since I was a little boy. And then our leader, our noble gifted leader. I have followed in my time several leaders of the Liberal party. I have followed George Brown, I have followed Alexander Mackenzie, I have followed Edward Blake, and Wilfrid Laurier, they are all men I am proud to have followed in my time. Brown and Mackenzie have gone to their reward, but their works live, and will live for ever for the benefit of the people of Canada. Edward Blake I followed with perfect fidelity and I am proud to know and to believe that he is worthy of all the fidelity and all the admiration I could give him. And I believe that had the people known him as I know him, they would have bestowed upon him unbounded confidence. It is a delightful thing to be a friend and follower of Wilfrid Laurier. He has the ability to guide the party right, and there is no doubt in my mind that at the first opportunity the people will call him to the highest office in their gift as Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

There were cries of "Fielding, Fielding!"

Hon. W. S. FIELDING:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I do not rise for the purpose of responding to the call you have so kindly given me, but

for a business purpose. The Committee on Resolutions has done me the honor of naming me its chairman, and I am here on behalf of the committee to present a report upon the work of the Convention. A number of resolutions have been submitted to the committee, concerning which there has not been sufficient time for deliberation, and therefore it will be necessary to make a supplementary report before the platform which we respectfully submit for the consideration of the Convention, can be completed. My duty is to present on behalf of the committee the resolutions so far as they have been adopted. They will be read to you in their entirety, and then, as I understand the procedure, they will be taken up seriatim, and each will be moved and seconded, and will then be open for the consideration of the Convention. The first resolution, I may say, relates to the question of tariff reform. The committee instruct me on that question to report a resolution in the following terms:—

The tariff—We, the Liberal party of Canada, in Convention assembled, declare:—

That the customs tariff of the Dominion should be based, not as it is now, upon the protective principle, but upon the requirements of the public service;

That the existing tariff, founded upon an unsound principle, and used, as it has been by the Government, as a corrupting agency wherewith to keep themselves in office, has developed monopolies, trusts and combinations;

It has decreased the value of farm and other landed property;

It has oppressed the masses to the enrichment of a few;

It has checked immigration;

It has caused great loss of population;

It has impeded commerce;

It has discriminated against Great Britain.

In these and in many other ways it has occasioned great public and private injury, all of which evils must continue to grow in intensity as long as the present tariff system remains in force.

That the highest interests of Canada demand a removal of this obstacle to our country's progress, by the adoption of a sound fiscal policy, which, while not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade, and hasten the return of prosperity to our people.

That to that end, the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient government.

That it should be so adjusted as to make free, or to bear as lightly as possible upon, the necessities of life, and should be so arranged as to promote freer trade with the whole world, more particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

We believe that the results of the protective system have grievously disappointed thousands of persons who honestly supported it, and that the country, in the light of experience, is now prepared to declare for a sound fiscal policy.

The issue between the two political parties on this question is now clearly defined.

The Government themselves admit the failure of their fiscal policy, and now profess their willingness to make some changes; but they say that such changes must be based only on the principle of protection.

We denounce the principle of protection as radically unsound, and unjust to the masses of the people, and we declare our conviction that any tariff changes based on that principle must fail to afford any substantial relief from the burdens under which the country labors.

This issue we unhesitatingly accept, and upon it we await with the fullest confidence the verdict of the electors of Canada.

Having now read to you the resolutions unanimously adopted by the committee on the question of tariff reform, I am instructed to report a resolution on the subject, which in their judgment is of next importance, even if indeed, it is not of first importance—the question of reciprocity. It has been suggested that as there are many resolutions, and as time is precious, I should mention the subjects of the resolutions, and let you hear the resolutions themselves when they are formally moved. If that meets with your concurrence—(Cries of "Yes, Yes,") I shall simply proceed to say that we have a resolution on the repeal of the Dominion Franchise Act; one on the selling of Dominion Lands, declaring that these lands should be sold to the actual settler and not to the speculator; one on the question of what is commonly known as the Gerrymander Act; one declaring that it is desirable to ascertain the mind of the people of the Dominion on the question of Prohibition; and one declaring that the action of the Government in referring questions of inquiry into the conduct of ministers in matters affecting the administration of public affairs to royal commissions, thereby taking the matter out of the hands of the people's representatives, is deserving of condemnation. Several other subjects are now occupying the attention of the committee, and, before the Convention adjourns, it is our expectation to make a further report. If there are other questions which the gentlemen present think should be dealt with, it is possible that the questions that are in their minds are among those still before the committee. I am asked to do one thing more, and that is to suggest, and, if necessary, move, that, as the number of questions is large, and the number who may desire to make speeches may be large, a time limit for speakers should be adopted. I would suggest that each mover and seconder of a resolution be allowed ten minutes, and other speakers five minutes each.

Mr. JAMES SUTHERLAND, M.P.:—I second that resolution.

The Chairman put the question which was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN:—I have pleasure in informing you that Mr. Fielding will take the chair during the remainder of the Convention.

Mr. FIELDING:—During the remainder of the meeting, not the remainder of the Convention.

#### THE FIRST RESOLUTION—TARIFF REFORM.

Hon. WILFRED LAURIER:—I have much pleasure in moving, seconded by Mr. Paterson, of Brant, the first resolution, with regard to tariff reform. As it has been read hurriedly, I cannot do better than again read it to you. (Mr. Laurier then read the resolution as reported.) Gentlemen, I do not know, but I would say your judgment will agree with mine that

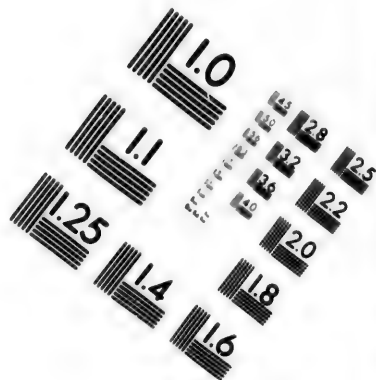
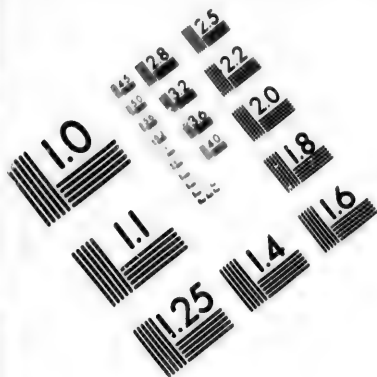


this resolution is complete in itself. Of course it is now open to discussion and amendment, but it seems to me that it could hardly be improved upon. It is a thorough arraignment of the policy the Government has followed. It sets forth all the evils which have flowed from the system of protection, and it draws the line clear and distinct between truth on the one side, and error on the other; between the policy of liberty and freedom and the policy of slavery, because I leave it to the judgment of every free man, to the farmers, and, above all, I leave it to the workingman in the cities, if protection is anything else but slavery. The Government has no right to take from the earnings of anyone anything except what is due to carry on the business of Government. The moment the Government takes one cent from your pocket, and that cent does not go into the treasury of the country, that is robbery to your prejudice. Therefore, I think the resolution should meet with your approval, and I am glad to say that from this day we have a clear arraignment of the Government, which we shall not cease to urge until the great battle is fought and we have achieved victory.

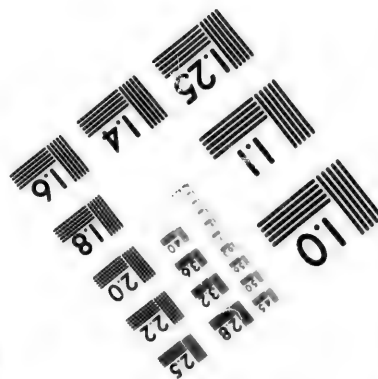
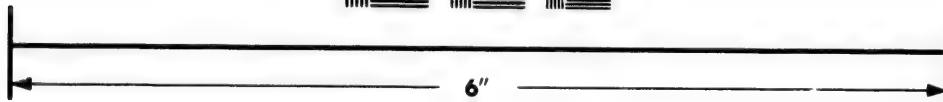
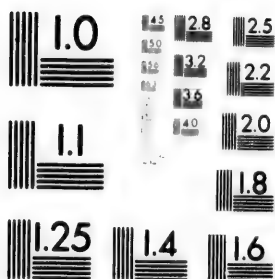
Mr. LAURIER then read the resolution in French, and resuming in English, said:—Now, I have already spoken at length on this subject, and am glad to see the views I enunciated yesterday fully covered by this resolution. I move its adoption.

Mr. WILLIAM PATERSON, M.P., South Brant, was received with loud and long continued applause. He said: I can't say a word unless you keep quieter than that. The applause subsiding, he continued:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have very great pleasure indeed in being present upon this occasion, and in being permitted to second the resolution which has just been offered. There is not time, of course, within ten minutes to discuss the question at any length. But it is unnecessary, I take it, to discuss such a question at length. I see before me a representative gathering of the Liberals of the Dominion of Canada from east to west, and I take it that in such a gathering the men are thoroughly posted on all the questions of the hour in the country in which they dwell. I was thinking as I viewed the vast assemblage last night, made up of Liberals who, by their presence here, declare that they are not ashamed to say they are Liberals, of remarks we hear made sometimes in these days that party is not an unmixed blessing in this country, and that it would be well if men thought more lightly of their party ties. It would seem as if it was thought in some quarters that a man would be a better citizen if he was not identified with any political party in the country. To that, Sir, I take exception. It may be true with reference to some parties, but so far as the Liberal party is concerned, I want to ask anyone what there is to be found in the past record of the party, I want to ask anyone what there is to be found in the platform that has been advocated by the Liberal party, to justify such an opinion, and to justify any man in severing his connection with a party that has such a glorious record of good work done on behalf of what is





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just and true? Why, Sir, we to-day are living in the enjoyment of liberties won for us in times gone by by the men of the Liberal party. I speak in the presence of men who know, many of whom have gone through the battles of former days and who know, as we all know, that every liberty, every justice we enjoy has been secured for us by the self-sacrificing efforts of Liberals in former days. And we are here a free people, dwelling in a land favored by Providence, a land rich in varied resources. But, while that is the case, and while we rejoice and are grateful for all that we have, we feel that we have not made such progress as a people blessed with such advantages as we are blessed with ought to enjoy. And, Sir, the Liberal party feel that our failure to come up to our just expectations in the way of national development is due to the fact that wrong principles have been recognized in the administration of our affairs by the Government. And to-day you have had laid down in clear and emphatic language, what? Not a new principle. You have laid down and emphasized again the principle held by the Liberal party in this matter of trade and commerce, that in the levying of the taxes of the country, regard should be had only to the necessities of the revenue, and that the Government should not seek by tariff legislation to favor any particular class in the community. I say this is no new principle. A revenue tariff was in force when our late leader Alexander Mackenzie, who has gone to his long rest, held the reins of power; and he and his Government fell because he would not yield to the cry for a protective tariff. From that day to this the Liberal party have not ceased to proclaim that they believed that it was not right or just that protection, as a principle, should be recognized by the Government of the country, and that they believed that the duty of the Government was to raise the necessary revenue to discharge the duties devolving upon the Government and to leave the people free to work out their own destiny, giving no undue advantage to any one portion of the community over another. And to-day, Sir, you have embodied that principle in the resolution now before us. In that resolution you declare for freedom of trade as against restriction of trade. I consider that these two policies are clear and distinct. Our Conservative friends believe in restricting trade, but the Liberal party believe in the expansion of trade, holding that it will bring greater prosperity to the country and greater satisfaction to the people. The Liberal party hold that as a principle it is right and correct and sound because it recognizes the equality of all the Provinces and of all the different interests in the country, and because it declares that no one shall by legislation have an undue advantage over another, but that with a fair field and asking no favor we may go on each one of us fulfilling his own duty and each one of us, as far as his ability goes, trying to build up into a great, a prosperous and a free nation, this Dominion of Canada in which Providence has cast our lot and of which we are all proud. Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind attention and I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN :—I have now pleasure in introducing to you Mr. P. A. Choquette, M.P.

Mr. P. AUG. CHOQUETTE, M.P., Montmagny (Translation) :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I am very glad to have the opportunity to discuss, however briefly, so important a resolution as that now before the Convention. The question of tariff reform is and must be the paramount issue in the forthcoming contest, for it is the error in relation to the tariff that makes the policy and administration of the Government wrong. The Conservatives were voted into office by the people because of the great promises they had made of increasing the prosperity of the country and inaugurating a policy of retrenchment in the administration of the country's affairs. But every promise they made has been falsified by their own acts. They made a great outcry about the exodus from the country, and declared in the very resolution demanding a change of policy that they would give employment to Canadians at home, and by keeping "Canada for the Canadians" they would cause Canadians to remain in Canada. You have already had quoted to you the figures of the last census, which show that instead of stopping the exodus they have increased it until it has become such a drain upon our national life that Conservatives themselves are alarmed at it. We do not merely find fault with them for permitting this increase; we declare in the most emphatic terms that their policy of restriction and high taxation has actually driven people from Canada who, under a wiser policy, would have remained. How can people remain when they are prevented from selling what they produce to those who would buy? How can they remain when they are compelled to pay monopoly prices for what they consume in order to benefit a few wealthy men or corporations? How can they remain when the taxes they are compelled to pay are greatly increased? The expenditure of the Dominion has increased from twenty-four millions in Mackenzie's time to thirty-eight millions, and the taxes, which under the Liberal regime were eighteen millions, have increased to thirty millions. These increases of taxation and expenditure have not been made necessary by the growth of the country; for the country has increased but little in population. Immense sums thus taken from the people have either been wasted in wholly unnecessary enterprises or handed over to favorites and henchmen of the Government in return for the support of these people in keeping the Government in power. And so the protective system has led to boodling and extravagance which we so strongly condemn and which would be impossible were the people's money left in the pockets of the people instead of being taken from them under the name of taxation. First, we must change the fiscal system, and that can best be done in accordance with the policy laid down in the resolution, which I have great pleasure in supporting.

The CHAIRMAN :—I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. H. F. Gardiner, of Hamilton, Ont., who will speak in support of the resolution.

Mr. H. F. GARDINER, Hamilton, Ont. :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I would be somewhat at a loss to know why, at a time when you are anxious to hear men of standing, men prominent in public life in the country, a simple private citizen like myself, who has never been in Parliament, and has no parliamentary aspirations, should be permitted to speak at all, except upon the principle that all sections of the Liberal party are to be heard from. Those of you who know me know that I belong to that class of Reformers who think they have something to reform, to the Radicals who believe in finding the root of an evil and taking it out, to the Liberals who believe that freedom means a man's right to do as he likes, and that no right is clearer than the right of a man to own and control and freely dispose of the products of his own labor. We of the younger generation, for you see I am but a youth, honor and admire the men who have gone before us ; we glory in the achievements of Papineau, Baldwin, Lafontaine, Dorion, Brown, Mackenzie and others whose names are not inscribed upon yonder scroll. There is one name there that attracts my attention, Dorion—one who, when I was a very little boy, about forty years ago, started out with the advanced wing of the Reform party. He was, if I mistake not, one of those original "Clear Grits," who, about the year 1850, adopted a platform of principles, not so elaborate as the one to be presented for your consideration to-day, but one for which I have great regard, because one of the planks was Free Trade and Direct Taxation. Now, I do not say that I am disappointed that the resolution (which I only partially heard, as I was unfortunate enough to sit behind the speaker) does not go so far as I think it ought to go. I am not disappointed. So long as the resolution is in the right direction I am ready to acquiesce in it. But, for my own part, I believe, and fully believe, that that portion of the platform of the Clear Grit party of forty years ago is just as good to-day as it was then, and nothing could have been better then. Those men did their work, but when they died, when their work was completed, the political millennium had not come. Take our country as it is to-day. No doubt it is prosperous, no doubt we ought to be thankful that as compared with Russian despotism or German militarism, the lot of the Canadian is indeed a happy one. But, even in this Canada of ours, as every man can testify of his own knowledge, there are men and women—sober, industrious, God-fearing men and women—who have to struggle long and arduously simply to obtain the bare means of living. This thing ought not so to be. It is very well, in forming your platform, to take care that a man worth his million may not run the risk of losing a thousand by the reform of the tariff ; it is very well to consider the interests of the rich merchants and manufacturers. But, for my part, I care more for the lot of those to whom life is such a struggle as I have described. If our policy means anything, if it is worth while to maintain our party organization, let us legislate so as to benefit those whose condition calls for our assistance. If I had time I would like to say something with regard to the disappearance of the yeomanry of Britain caused by the substitution of indirect of crooked

taxation for the direct taxation introduced by William the Conqueror, but the subject is too large. But this yeoman class, as Goldsmith calls them,

a country's pride,  
Which, once destroyed, can never be supplied,

was wiped out by a few hundred years of class legislation. I have no doubt, as the resolution says, that protection is an evil thing, but I believe that indirect taxation of any kind is evil, that the taxation of goods is a thing that has injured England, and that it was this that brought about that state of poverty which has been partially remedied by Peel and Gladstone, and the other financial reformers of the last half century. I believe that in this country a similar progress of decadence and degradation is going on. Within my own acquaintance, for instance, are many farmers who, a few years ago, owned the land they worked. But this National Policy tariff came into force, and in the course of time, through a process I need not describe, the prices of farm produce fell, while the prices of other goods were kept up by the taxes upon them, the farmer got behind with the store-keeper and was pestered and bothered with debts he had no means of paying. After a while, on the same principle as that followed by many municipalities, the farmer "consolidated" his debts by putting a mortgage on his farm, and so, from being the owner, he became in effect the tenant of the mortgagee. Some of them were compelled to sell outright, and become tenants in name as well as in fact. That is the effect of taxing goods. The plea is that it protects native industries and so secures employment and improves wages in towns. But it does not benefit the towns. I live in a town myself, and I know the effect upon wages of this tariff, and especially the evil effect upon the amount of employment provided for workmen. When the farmer is hard up, and is not able to buy goods, it must follow that there is little work for the people in the towns. And so the workingmen's wages are cut down. We want a state of affairs in which the farmer will be able to buy freely, and then we may be sure that the workingmen will have constant employment and fair wages. My time having expired, I would just emphasize the point that the taxation of goods makes goods scarce and dear, and, business being the exchange of goods, taxing goods must necessarily reduce the prosperity of the country. Take the taxes off these good things—the products of labor—and we Canadians can then revel, if not in luxury, at least in abundance.

The CHAIRMAN:—The question is now before the Convention and is open for discussion. (Cries of "Question, Question.") You who are minded that this resolution shall be the voice of the Convention please manifest the same by rising.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### SECOND RESOLUTION—RECIPROCITY.

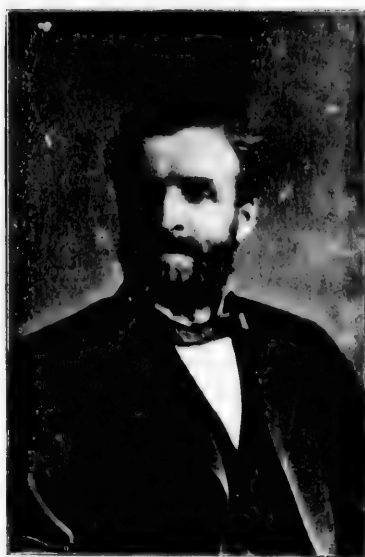
The CHAIRMAN:—The next question will be on the subject of reciprocity, and will be presented to your notice by Hon. L. H. Davies, of Prince Edward Island.

Hon. L. H. DAVIES, M.P., Queen's, P.E.I.—Mr. Chairman: Some eleven years ago I had the honor of being elected a representative in the Dominion Parliament. I had the further honor on my election of being entrusted by my then leader with an important resolution favoring reciprocity with the United States. To-day, after eleven years service, I have the distinguished honor of being selected by my leader here to move that resolution in another form before the Convention preceding the inauguration of the Liberal party in power. I need not tell you I feel proud of that. During all that time we have been in opposition, and I wish to make one remark as to the conduct of the Liberal party during these eleven years. The conduct of the party has been such as challenges the admiration of all lovers of free institutions. Although we were fighting battle after battle at the polls, and were defeated election after election, we felt and knew, and our opponents felt and knew, that we were not being defeated by the voice of the people, but by legislative enactments carried through by a tyrannical majority for the purpose of keeping an impure party in power. Notwithstanding that in 1882 they gerrymandered the constituencies of Canada and kept us out, notwithstanding that in 1887 they passed the infamous Franchise Act and kept us out then, notwithstanding these attempts to stifle the voice of the people, the Liberal party, recognizing the responsibility of their position, proceeded within the lines of the constitution to advocate measures for the benefit of the great mass of the people. We have never spoken of rebellion, of resistance to the laws, although God knows if there ever was a country in which, or a time when resistance would be justified, it would be in opposition to such measures as we have had to contend against. We stand to-day in the proud position of men who, I believe, are about to receive the reward of their labors at the hands of the people. Well, Sir, there was worse than that. Not only have the Government kept their opponents out of power by such legislative enactments, but they have resorted to corrupt means of a character which has brought the blush of shame to the face of every Canadian, and made our fellow-citizens of the Empire hang their heads when the name was mentioned of the fairest daughter of Great Britain. These difficulties and obstacles we have had to submit to, but now the time has come when the principles we have been advocating quietly but persistently are about to be adopted by the people. We have already moved and carried a resolution denouncing that protection, which is the twin sister of monopolies and combines, the robber of the many for the benefit of the few. We have advocated a reduction of the tariff, and such freedom of trade as is consistent with the raising of the revenue necessary for carrying on the Government of the country. We propose to you to-day our scheme for enlarging our trade relations with the United States, and let me say just here, that while this has been one of the freest Conventions that ever met in convention in America, while every man has been asked freely and frankly to come forward with any suggestion he might have to make, this Convention of Canadian Grits, assembled from

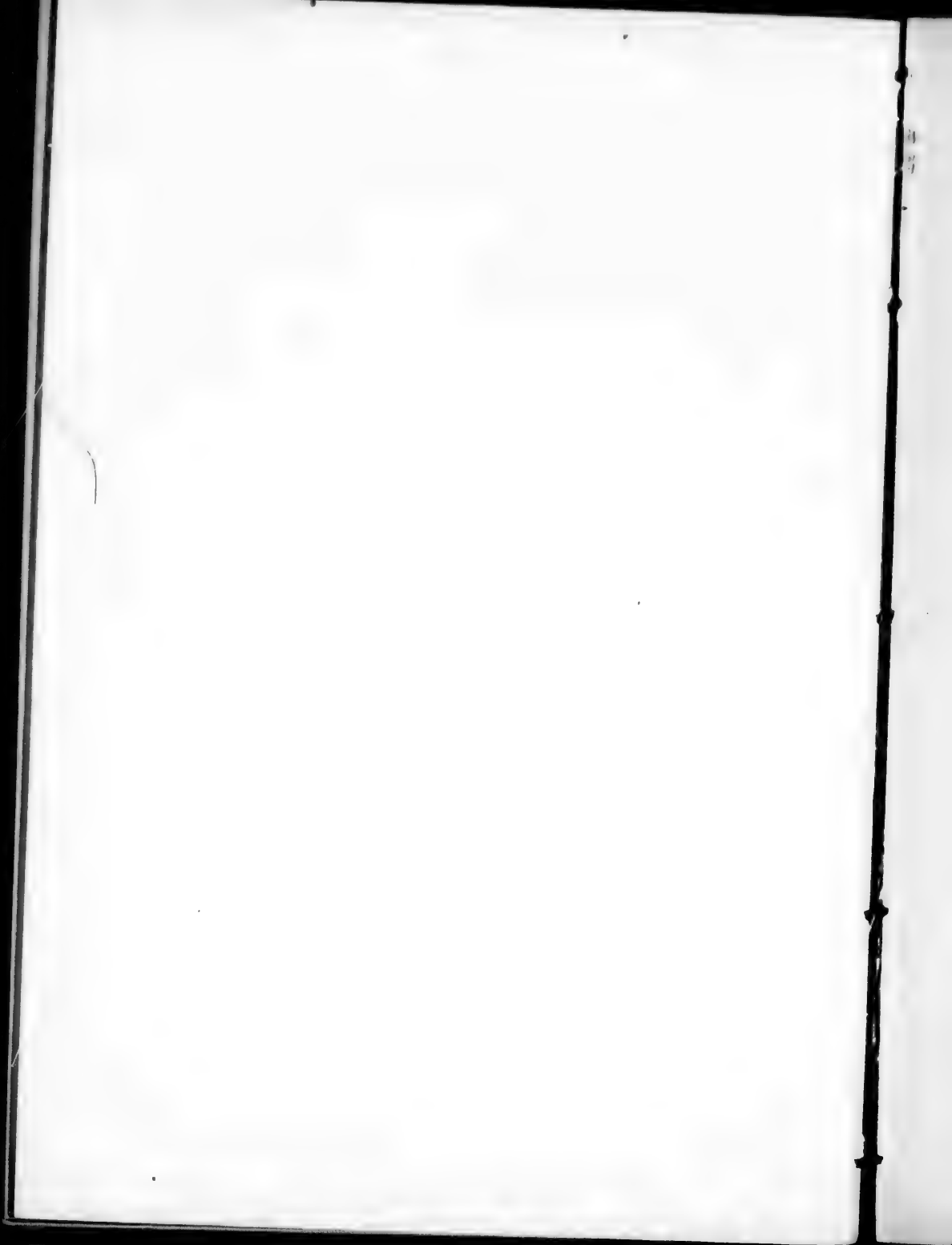
one end of the Dominion to the other, has not had a suggestion made to it which the strongest supporter of British connection could construe into the faintest shade or shadow of disloyalty or disaffection. If there is an annexationist in Canada he is not in this Convention. We have never had the suspicion of a suggestion in that direction. We are prepared to work out our own destiny within the lines of the constitution. I am sick and tired of the cry that our opponents bring against us. Loyalty to the Queen? Yes, as a citizen of the Empire, I respect and honor that good woman. And loyalty to the British Empire? Yes, I love and revere the mother from whose loins we sprung, and who has given us free speech, free conscience, a free newspaper press and free representative institutions. We draw our inspiration from her, and the freedom we enjoy to-day we owe to the Mother Land. But much as I respect and love her and her institutions, there is one I love more. I love the country in which I was born. I love the country in which my children were born, and in which they must make their living. For that country I reserve my special love and special favor, and if, unfortunately, it should ever happen that we should be called upon to make choice between the two, I hope we will stand for Canada. The resolution which I propose to you is one favoring enlarged trade relations with the United States of America. Do not be led away by any clap-trap. South of you lies the greatest republic the world has ever seen, people who are sprung from the same stock as yourselves, worshipping before the same altars, speaking the same language, discussing the same questions and looking forward with almost the same hopes. Can you doubt that the greatest good that any man can confer upon Canada will be to cultivate such friendly relations with that people, that war between Great Britain, the Mother Land, and the neighboring republic would become an impossibility? The resolution expresses the idea that the period of the reciprocity treaty extending from 1854 to 1866 was one of marked prosperity. I cannot speak with the same assurance in regard to the other parts of the Dominion as I can in regard to that part from which I come, but I say this, that since the Maritime Provinces were peopled there never was a decade when prosperity was so marked among all classes, when land rose in value so quickly, when the wharves were so lined with shipping, when the workmen had such steady employment, when the farmers had as good a market, as between 1854 and 1866, when we had reciprocal trade with the United States of America. We look back with longing eyes to that period of free trade with our neighbors, and we look forward with hope that the Liberal party, coming to their own again, shall bring back the prosperity of that period to us. This resolution affirms that the Government have been guilty of misleading and dishonest statements, with the deliberate object of deceiving the electorate. They went before you the last time with an official document in their hands, declaring that they had been invited by the United States Government to discuss reciprocity, and thousands of people said: The Government have now been asked to go



there to discuss a treaty; we will give them a chance to do it. They deceived the people, they made dishonest and misleading statements, and they got thousands of votes by it. But when the representative of Canada went to the United States, in pursuance of a resolution which was passed by Parliament, the first thing he had to do, to the humiliation of this land—Sir Charles Tupper had to go in and on bended knees declare to Mr. Blaine: I am obliged to say that the statements Sir John Macdonald and I myself made to the effect that the invitation to discuss reciprocity had emanated from the United States, were not correct. Such a spectacle as this, so humiliating to Canada, could never occur under a Liberal Government. They made no sincere effort to obtain reciprocity. Mr. Foster declared time and again that there were three essential requisites in obtaining reciprocity—one, that the tariff of the United States and of Canada must be a uniform tariff on all subjects; secondly, that that tariff must be determined upon and settled at Washington, and as a corollary to that, he said it meant the surrender of the fiscal independence of Canada (Cries of "No, no"); and thirdly, that we must discriminate against Great Britain. I hold in my hands the official statement of Mr. Blaine to the President. Our Mr. Foster says that he completely misunderstood Mr. Blaine. I am not concerned as to what Mr. Foster understood, what I am concerned about is the official record of the terms upon which Mr. Blaine stated the United States Government was willing to negotiate a reciprocity treaty, and I say deliberately in this Convention that it never was understood, either directly or by implication, that the tariff of the two countries should be uniform, should be framed and regulated by the United States, or that Canada's control of fiscal questions should be interfered with. Mr. Blaine says that the Canadian commissioners refused to discuss the question on any other ground than that of a treaty confined to natural products. He says that, on his part, he asked that a list of manufactures, carefully considered, should be included. I say that this is nothing but a fair and reasonable demand which they make, and that it would be as much for the benefit of the people of Canada that a treaty should be negotiated upon these lines as it would be for the benefit of the United States. When George Brown went, at the instance of my late revered leader, Alexander Mackenzie, to Washington in 1874 to negotiate a treaty, did he confine it to natural products? Take the treaty, which I hold in my hand, and you will see that, in addition to natural products, there are forty distinct articles of manufacture which he was willing and agreed to negotiate a treaty upon. Was George Brown disloyal? Not at all. No friend or foe has ever dared to make that charge against him in his life, and his bitterest enemy would be ashamed to make it against him now. What more do we say? We say a fair and liberal reciprocity treaty would develop the great natural resources of Canada. Is it so? The country has natural resources excelled by none in the world, and they are lying here dormant, awaiting development at the hands of capital and labor. By a treaty such



ALEXANDER McLEAN, ESQ.,  
Chairman, Ottawa Local Committee of Arrangements.



as we are desirous of obtaining, capital will come in and your dormant resources will be developed and there will be a flood of prosperity over all this land, brightening it as a burst of sunshine illumines the landscape. We say that a treaty of reciprocity would enormously increase the trade and commerce between the two countries. Our trade with the United States, the volume of which was \$13,000,000 in 1854, increased by leaps and bounds in 1866 to the enormous sum of \$80,000,000. It remained stationary for many years. Give us a fair, honest, liberal treaty, a free and fair exchange of products—it is in the interest of both countries to exchange—and you will have a return of that period when your commerce and trade will rise and mount till the best son of Canada will stand amazed at the figures, and rejoiced at the results I move:

That, having regard to the prosperity of Canada and the United States as adjoining countries, with many mutual interests, it is desirable that there should be the most friendly relations and broad and liberal trade intercourse between them;

That the interests alike of the Dominion and of the Empire would be materially advanced by the establishing of such relations;

That the period of the old reciprocity treaty was one of marked prosperity to the British North American colonies;

That the pretext under which the Government appealed to the country in 1891 respecting negotiation for a treaty with the United States was misleading and dishonest and intended to deceive the electorate;

That no sincere effort has been made by them to obtain a treaty, but that, on the contrary, it is manifest that the present Government, controlled as they are by monopolies and combines, are not desirous of securing such a treaty;

That the first step towards obtaining the end in view, is to place a party in power who are sincerely desirous of promoting a treaty on terms honorable to both countries;

That a fair and liberal reciprocity treaty would develop the great natural resources of Canada, would enormously increase the trade and commerce between the two countries, would tend to encourage friendly relations between the two peoples, would remove many causes which have in the past provoked irritation and trouble to the Governments of both countries, and would promote those kindly relations between the Empire and the Republic which afford the best guarantee for peace and prosperity;

That the Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with a view to obtaining such a treaty, including a well considered list of manufactured articles, and we are satisfied that any treaty so arranged will receive the assent of Her Majesty's Government, without whose approval no treaty can be made.

The CHAIRMAN:—If I am to cut off such eloquent speakers as Mr. Davies, I am afraid I shall become a very unpopular chairman. But business is business, and I must carry out the rule of the Convention. This resolution will be seconded by Mr. Charlton, M.P. for North Norfolk, Ontario.

Mr. JOHN CHARLTON, M.P., North Norfolk, Ontario:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It affords me very great gratification to be selected to second this motion in favor of reciprocal trade between this country and the United States. For many years I have taken a great interest in this question. For many years I have believed that it is the most important

question that has been presented to the people of Canada, and I believe that to-day you are called upon to express your opinions and take action upon no more important question than that embodied in this resolution. Sir, we have in America a great theatre for the operation of the mighty forces that have been brought into play by the Anglo Saxon race. We have a continent with resources almost limitless, a country extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean, with boundless opportunities for the creation of wealth, and unrivalled advantages of lake and river for internal navigation. We have a continent evidently destined to be the seat of Empire inhabited by two nationalities, both speaking the same language, belonging to the same race, essentially the same people. These peoples are separated by an imaginary line; they are prevented from holding communication with one another by arbitrary fiscal regulations, and the benefits that would result from free commercial intercourse between these two great sections are scarcely dreamed of to-day, because these peoples have never participated to the highest extent in the advantages which free communication would give. We did have a partial scheme of reciprocity, confined to natural products, and we can infer from the benefits which flowed from that arrangement during the twelve years of its existence what would be the result if all the shackles upon trade were broken, and uninterrupted and free communication between these two peoples existed. The exports of this country to the United States in 1854 were ten and a half millions of dollars, the exports in 1866 were thirty-nine and three quarters millions. In round numbers the exports had increased fourfold in twelve years. The exports from this country to the United States in the last fiscal year were thirty-nine millions, or almost one million of dollars less than in 1866. While they increased fourfold in twelve years under reciprocity, they have shrunk by one million in twenty-seven years under the system of restriction upon trade. And this is in the face of the fact that the population of the United States increased in this latter period by two and one-half times, and the wealth of the country by at least fourfold. Now, Sir, if our exports to the United States had increased only to the same extent that they did from 1854 to 1866, we should have exported to that country last year \$104,000,000, in place of \$39,000,000. That bald statement of fact will enable you to realize how enormous are the losses that this country has sustained through restriction and hostile tariffs. Sir, I can name twelve articles of farm produce, and I would give the names and figures in detail if I had time, in which the exports in 1890 to the United States were ten and a half millions of dollars, and in which the exports in 1892 were but four millions of dollars, a shrinkage of six and a half millions in two years, due to the hostile and unfriendly tariff known as the McKinley Act. None of you need be told that this country is blessed with boundless resources. No man needs to be told that it would be an advantage to this country to reach the markets of sixty-five millions of people at our very door. No one needs to be told that this great Province of Ontario would benefit if it could reach the

six millions of people living in cities within four hundred miles of its own borders. The Canadian Provinces may be divided into four geographical groups. First, the Maritime Provinces, having natural trade relations with the seaboard states; second, the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, forming part of the territory whose main artery is the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes; third, Manitoba and the North-West, forming part of the Mississippi Valley country; and British Columbia, part of the Pacific Slope. And there is not one of these groups but would be enormously benefited by throwing down the trade barriers and permitting each to trade with those States with which it has business and geographical affinities. Our friends who are now in power have been giving to you various nostrums to get over the difficulty under which you labor through being shut out from your natural market. They have been advising you to embark in various operations to insure a market for the results of your labor. They have told you to raise fat stock of a superior quality for the English market; they have advised you to raise two-rowed barley for the English market, and these have been failures. Their position reminds me of a story of an Irishman in Saginaw who had the misfortune to have his place flooded by the bursting of a city water-pipe. He went to the city clerk to complain about it, and to claim damages. He said, "My cellar is flooded, and the things I had stored there are floating around." "That will be all right," answered the clerk, "we'll have the water pumped out, and the place will soon be dry again." "But my lot is flooded and my garden destroyed." "We'll drain off the water, and the lot will be all right." "But my garden is under water and my chickens are all drowned." "Then," answered the clerk, "why in thunder don't you raise ducks?" That is the solution you get from these fellows, they want you to "raise ducks," to raise two-rowed barley, to go into expensive operations of that kind to compensate you for the loss of your natural market. We propose to give you the market for ducks, as well as for everything else, to throw down the barriers to the trade between these two countries and give the people of Canada access to their natural market. I am told that my time is pretty nearly up, but my subject is by no means exhausted. In brief, my friends, the policy that is foreshadowed and described by this resolution will benefit the agriculturalist, it will benefit the miner, it will give a market for our iron ore, our copper ore, for our structural material, for all this natural wealth in our mines, which to-day is almost without value. It will give prosperity to our lumber trade; it will benefit our fisheries; it will benefit all the great industries of this country, except, possibly, some lines of manufacturing industries. I take no stock in the talk we hear about Canadian inferiority, and I hold that our manufacturers, if they can get free access to the American markets for their wares, can compete with the Americans, and can extend their operations in a number of lines. All I want to inquire about with regard to this policy is: Is it loyal to Canada; will it promote the interests of Canada? Britain is looking after her own interests, and we may look after ours, and if we do so we shall earn her

good opinion. It is said that this policy will deprive us of a large amount of revenue. If it increases the prosperity of the people, it will increase importations, and this will tend to make up the revenue. We can make up \$3,300,000 of the loss from sugar by raising the duty one-fifth of a cent, and arranging it so that the money thus taken shall go into the treasury instead of going into the pockets of the refiners. Other increases and savings would easily make up the rest of the loss. I conclude—for my time is nearly up—by saying that reciprocity with the United States is not only desirable, but it is essential to the prosperity of Canada. I contend that this is a question of the utmost importance. It is an arrangement that the Liberal party can make, and it is an arrangement that the Conservative party never have honestly sought to secure. They have trifled with the people of this country; they have deceived the people, they have sent bogus missions to Washington proposing impossible terms for the express purpose of not getting reciprocity, for they did not want it, and would not have taken it upon any obtainable terms. They went down with a proposal foreordained to failure, that of reciprocity in natural products alone, because for twenty years American statesmen have declared that such a proposal never would be entertained. They have insulted your intelligence, they have trifled with your interest, and now if you desire reciprocity place your confidence in a party that will make honest efforts to secure it, and I stake my reputation will secure it if they are given the opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN :—The reciprocity question is a question of very great interest to manufacturers. There are manufacturers in Canada so timid as to fear that if a breath of the air of free competition should touch their factories, those factories would crumble into the dust. But there are manufacturers, and they are within the ranks of the Liberal party, who have the courage that ought to belong to Canadians, and who declare that all they ask is a fair field and no favor. We have some of those manufacturers with us to-day, and I am going to call upon one of them who is now in the body of the rink. I am going to ask one of the largest manufacturers in Canada, Mr. W. J. Copp, of Hamilton, Ont, to come to the platform and speak on this question.

Mr. W. J. Copp, Hamilton, Ont. :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : For a plain, ordinary manufacturer to be called upon to stand in the ranks of the educated politicians and discuss for one moment a fiscal question of such vast importance as the question of reciprocity, I can assure you causes such a man to shrink from the ordeal. But I suppose this question is one that has faced every Canadian, it is a question that has faced every manufacturer. As has been intimated by our Chairman, manufacturers in many instances shrink from the possibility of competition, in dread of Canada being overwhelmed by the American manufacturers. It is true that the Americans are vastly in advance of us in their specialties. They have for many years now had an immense market in their own country and they have still, to a very considerable extent,

access to the market in Canada. I realize that this question of reciprocity with the United States is a very grave question. But while I realize the gravity of the question, when I look around upon my fellow countrymen, I feel that they are equal to any emergency when they are placed upon an equality with their competitors. I cannot conceive for one moment of a people such as we are, brought up under conditions of a rigorous climate, men, certainly, constitutionally equal any day to the Americans, having mentally all the advantages of our splendid educational system, having before us the fact that our young men who go the United States take a prominent place in every avenue of life upon which they enter, can fail in competition with any men on the face of the earth. It is true, Gentlemen, we have labored under great difficulties. Our trade relations have been very much curtailed. We have heard a great deal about the burdens of the farmer and others in various branches of trade. The manufacturer also has been burdened heavily and, if you were in the manufacturing business, you would find yourself very heavily burdened by the fiscal policy of the country. I know that policy has to be handled with very great care. I know, as our ex-Finance Minister (Sir Richard Cartwright) stated, we have a strong enemy to fight, and I know that we have to enter into the battle with a policy such as the country wants. And to get into that position great care has been taken. I am pleased, Sir, with the resolution that has been offered here to-day. I am satisfied that if the lines of these resolutions are followed, and if we hold our face steadily in the direction of free trade, we shall, in time, arrive at the goal. But, gentlemen, we must not forget that there are still important interests to be taken care of. It is very well to talk about the millionaire, but we have the small manufacturer and the large manufacturer, we have the small business man and the large business man scattered all over this country, and when changes are brought in they must be brought in gradually but surely. But, having entered upon the revision of the tariff, there must be no looking back. Then, I believe, Gentlemen, that if the Americans will open up their markets to us, though for a short time, for a year or two, it might stagger us, we have the energy to make our way in their markets and thus make gains that will abundantly recoup us for whatever we relinquish on this side. I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN :—I am somewhat a politician myself, and not likely to under-estimate the importance of the class, if you will call it so, to which I belong. But I can for that reason say with all the greater assurance of being believed that one speech such as we have had here from Mr. Copp is worth more in its effect upon public opinion than any speech that a politician could make. Now that we find manufacturers who have that pride in themselves as Canadians and belief in their ability, with a fair field and no favor, to meet on even terms their competitors in the United States, let us hear from some more of them. I have pleasure in introducing to you Mr. F. Boas, the largest manufacturer of knitted goods in the Dominion of Canada. Mr. Boas comes from St. Hyacinthe, Quebec.



Mr. F. BOAS, St. Hyacinthe, Quebec:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am somewhat in the position of the man who was looked upon as a crank because he, apparently, at least so it was said, acted contrary to his own interests. But I am glad to find that, if I am a crank, I am not alone as a crank in believing that it is possible for this Canada of ours not only to open her markets to the rest of the world, but to enter into competition with the rest of the world in manufacturing. Now, the first condition necessary for the successful carrying on of a manufacturing business is a good labor market. That stands first and foremost. Next is good power, that is cheap power if possible, to drive the machinery, and, finally, a large enough market to dispose of your products. Now, it is a well known fact that in the first respect the American manufacturer has no advantage over us, in fact that the American manufacturer, especially in the Eastern States, makes it his business to draw from us in Canada, particularly within the Province of Quebec, as much labor as he can, for the simple reason that there is no class of population better suited for factory work than those born and brought up under this northern climate. Their labor is appreciated because they are capable, intelligent, and not easily disturbed in their everyday routine as long as they are fairly well treated. Advantage is taken of this labor to a very large extent by the American manufacturers and you can hardly enter a factory in the United States but you find a larger or smaller percentage of our French-Canadian fellow-citizens, who ought to be employed in their own country. For my part, I am most fortunately situated. I have about me an ample labor market, and I therefore do not consider for one moment that I could suffer, not merely if we had American competition, but if we went to the full length, which I would advocate every day of my life, and established free trade with the world. There is no question about it for a moment that this country, which has immense natural resources still undeveloped, which has great mineral belts that are hardly known, this country that has great forest wealth, and resources of every other kind almost unknown to the world, if this country were treated as it ought to be treated, if the people were given an adequate market and allowed to buy where they could buy to the best advantage, manufactures suitable to the climate and natural conditions would grow with great rapidity and with strength that would enable them to compete with the whole world. Now, I have in my experience of the last few months had a very gratifying example of what we are capable of doing in Canada. I had occasion to go all over Europe, introducing a Canadian invention in the shape of machinery, and I found that this invention was superior to anything to be found throughout all Europe. Later on and within the last few weeks, I had the same experience in the United States. Some American manufacturers in the same line of business, who learned that a machine of the kind that had been invented, came to St. Hyacinthe to see it in operation. And what was the result? Instead of saying that they would like to have free conditions of trade so as to get the benefits of our market, they said that, with such factories as

we had, they thought it would be to their advantage not to open their markets to us. They were afraid, and they had reason to be afraid, because we have better labor, we have ample water-powers, and the only thing that the Canadian manufacturers do lack, in those cases where they lack anything is a market. Now, Gentlemen, it is not a question to be considered whether or not I individually am capable of competing with the rest of the world, it is not a question for this Convention to decide whether a few of us are in a position to compete with our neighbors. It is a question as to what would benefit the people of Canada at large. If I may speak for the class to which I belong, I would ask of you not to regard us as imbeciles. Treat us as men who are capable of carrying on their own business and do not mix us up with the monopolists who to-day, under a protective tariff, find it necessary to earn a revenue not only upon the machinery naturally required in their business, but upon a vast quantity of machinery far beyond the requirements of the country. They have been put in that position, and they would like to remain in that position. I say, for one, that any industry naturally suited to the climate and conditions is able to take care of itself, and that a revenue tariff, such as, unfortunately, we must have, will afford ample protection for every industry that is willing to be satisfied with fair treatment. I do not claim that we need even that; what I do claim is that we ought to develop this country, to make Canada as prosperous in every respect as possible, and, in order to do that, there is only one policy to pursue and that is the policy laid down in the platform presented to you, a policy that will lead on to free trade with the world, a policy that will enable us to develop our natural resources to the fullest extent, and enable us to fill this country with a people in whom every one of us may take pride. I have never been a party man, I plead guilty to the accusation of having paid but little attention to party, but I am satisfied to stand on the platform of Hon. Wilfrid Laurier as long as it is in the right direction, the only direction in which Liberals and Radicals can look, towards free trade, towards direct taxation, and towards a graduated tax. We have no right, as under the present system, to lay upon the masses the the heaviest burden. I can enumerate article after article in which the burden of taxation is thrown upon the people, while the wealthy classes, to a large extent, are exempt. The reason of it is plain. It is that there are more of the people, and that, as they pay the tax indirectly, they do not feel it; they only know that mortgages begin to increase, and that year after year it is more difficult to make both ends meet, so that after a time, they are compelled to seek their homes elsewhere. As a manufacturer, I favor a policy that will put us in a position to compete with the rest of the world, and I promise you that when the day comes that the Canadian manufacturers have to take their part in a fair fight with the world, they will find their way to victory.

The CHAIRMAN:—Before I call upon the next speaker, I wish to make an announcement. The Committee on Resolutions will meet now to facilitate business, and I will call upon the Hon. Mr. Blair to take

the chair. Before leaving I will introduce to you the next speaker, whom I am sure you will receive gladly, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of the honored name he bears. I will call upon Mr. Charles Mackenzie, of Sarnia, brother of the late Alexander Mackenzie.

The Hon. A. G. BLAIR, Premier of New Brunswick, then took the chair.

Mr. CHARLES MACKENZIE, M.P.P., West Lambton :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: At this late hour in the afternoon it would be unbecoming in me to attempt to detain you for any length of time. Nevertheless, I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity and of the privilege of speaking to this vast assemblage, an assemblage of the Liberals of Canada that has never been equalled in my lifetime, and I think not during the lifetime of anyone here, an assemblage representing the far east and the far west, an assemblage so great that it will be an encouragement to us to work in the future. This Convention tells us the hold that freer trade has taken upon the public mind. The feeling roused upon that question has given us the opportunity to meet our friends from different parts of the Dominion and to welcome our glorious chief. Hundreds of us from the West have to-day had the privilege for the first time of hearing him speak, and I, for one, shall go home filled with enthusiasm to work for the party under the leadership of so noble a man. This Convention has given us from the West an opportunity to meet many of our friends from the Eastern Provinces; men who are an honor to the country that gave them birth, and who, by their self-sacrificing work and their high character, have infused energy into the whole Liberal party. As regards this resolution, I believe that reciprocity with the United States would bring prosperity such as this country has never seen. And it is an encouraging feature of this meeting that we have two manufacturers who have come forward to declare boldly that they do not fear such a change. It is a great thing for us to know that there are many other manufacturers who have the courage to say that they have nothing to fear from the competition of any men in the world. Give them a market of sixty-five millions of people, and all the opportunities such a market would offer, and what have they to fear? Cannot they rise as early, work as long, and live as frugally as others, and have not they the brains and skill equal to others? Assuredly they have. Consider, for instance, the effect upon the mineral interests of the great West. Look at the business that is being carried down from the Great Lakes on the other side; while our ship yards are idle, and of the vast tonnage that comes down not one ship in fifty flies the Canadian flag, while in the great mineral region on our side of the lake is solitude broken only by the occasional tourist or the Indian in his canoe. Give us reciprocity which will insure to us the markets of the United States and you will find our mineral regions opened up, you will find that country covered with swarming population, and a business developed which will give great scope to the energy of every Canadian especially to our young men. I am exceedingly proud to be with To those who fought the battle in 1878 it is an immense inspiration

to meet so many sound Liberals here to-day. It is a solemn thing to think that so many of the noble spirits who fought that battle have gone to their long rest; it would have been a great gratification to them to have seen this assemblage and to have heard the policy which they advocated, after fifteen years of silence, declared again with an enthusiasm which is an assurance of victory.

The CHAIRMAN:—We intend to make just one more special call. We intend to invite Mr. Frost, of Smith's Falls, a leading manufacturer, to address a few words to the meeting. Let it not be supposed that we are limiting the speaking. After Mr. Frost has finished the question will be open for discussion.

Mr. F. T. FROST, Smith's Falls, Ont.:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure, though quite an unexpected one, for me to be called upon to address this large Convention. As a manufacturer I have never been able to discover why manufacturers under a Liberal Government, with free raw materials, would not be in just as good a position, if not a great deal better, than under the Government of our opponents. A large number of industries throughout Canada were built up and established, and a large proportion of the prosperity which in the past years came to manufacturers was due to the excellent start they made under the regime of Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and the low tariff which existed in his time and previous to that period. I cannot understand, therefore, why, on a return to a moderate tariff, the industries of Canada should not flourish again just as well as they did then. As to the question of reciprocity, what we are all looking for in this country is not fewer customers, but more customers; what we want is the opening up of larger markets, so that our products may not only go throughout the length and breadth of this country, but into the section south of us, and thus enable our manufacturers to secure a certain portion of the prosperity which an increase of trade is sure to bring. I was very well satisfied with the remark made by one of the previous speakers, that there was no disability attaching to the manufacturers of this country. If they are to-day meeting foreign competitors on the common grounds of other markets, and meeting them successfully, if they can do this in England and Australia and Germany and South America, why cannot they meet them in their own country just as well? I say they can. Holding these views, I have much pleasure in supporting the reciprocity and tariff reform resolutions that have been brought in here to-day. And I think that when these resolutions are well understood, every manufacturer in this country whose views with regard to protection are not warped, will be quite willing to do as I am doing, that is support these resolutions and so help to bring about the prosperity of all classes which we believe will come from a lower tariff and a more equal distribution of taxation upon the people of this country.

Mr. D. McCRAE, Guelph, Ont.:—I am glad to be able to support the resolution submitted on the question of reciprocity. I do not believe that the advantages of reciprocity between Canada and the United States

would be one-sided. There are many things that can be grown and some things that can be manufactured more cheaply in the United States than in Canada. There are other things in which our people excel. Therefore, a mutual exchange would be to the profit of both countries. With reciprocity we would have near at hand a great population able and willing to pay the highest price for the very best articles of farm produce. Farmers in Western Ontario have nearer at hand than the City of Quebec a larger population than that of Great Britain. I believe, therefore, that it would be for the benefit of our farmers if a policy were adopted which would give us free access to this market. I am glad that this is the second and not the first plank in the platform. We have already adopted a resolution in favor of freer trade with Great Britain. I had the honor during the past winter of attending a gathering of representative farmers in the City of Toronto—the Central Farmers' Institute of Ontario—at which a resolution was unanimously adopted declaring in favor of an immediate reduction of the duties on British goods. It is a pleasure to meet with gentlemen in this Convention representing all parts of the Dominion and to have it known far and wide that the farmers of Ontario favor the policy of freer trade with Britain and feel that the time has come when the heavy duties of the N. P. should be reduced. We have adopted here a policy which, when carried, will take this burden from the people; which will not only lop off the mouldering branches and closely trim the others, but which will lay the axe at the foot of the tree, and when it is down the next thing will be to have out the farmers' stump machine and have out the roots—destroying it root and branch. I wish also to say that the farmers were not afraid to face the question of direct taxation. If the taxes are raised for necessary revenue only, and the mode adopted which is used in Britain, there is no farmer or mechanic who need fear direct taxation. I was pleased last night to hear the address of our noble chief—glad to hear him declare he was following British lines in his trade policy, and will be pleased to hear him declare that he is also ready to follow British plans in the mode of raising the revenue of Canada. Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind attention.

Mr. J. E. WILDE, Caistor Township, Ont.:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am a farmer brought up away back in the southern wilds of Ontario. I was raised there when it was no uncommon thing to hear the wolves howling around our place, and I have farmed under the old reciprocity arrangement and under the present National Policy. I am glad to stand here to thoroughly support the policy that has been put forward to-day. I am convinced by practice as well as by theory that free trade with the Americans as well as with Great Britain is a benefit to the backbone, the right arm of this country, the agricultural class. The agricultural interests of Ontario alone is three quarters of the interest of the whole Province. There is no other industry which taken alone can at all compare with the agricultural industry, and this National Policy has trimmed it down almost to the ground. Free trade or reciprocity of trade with the United States would vastly enhance the interests of the agriculturists and

horticulturists, and to encourage this industry is to benefit every industry in the Dominion of Canada. We should put forth every energy to bring about reciprocity with the United States. If the farmer is oppressed, if the farmer is not making money, no other profession in the country can succeed ; it is from the ground we all get our maintenance. As a humble farmer I would work strenuously to bring about this policy of free trade, first with the United States and ultimately with the world at large. I do not fear for the result, if there are no dissensions in our own ranks. But our opponents just previous to every election begin an undermining policy and seek to work up dissensions in the Reform party. Moreover, they pretend to think that they are certain of being beaten and so lull the Liberals into a feeling of confidence which leads to carelessness and this means defeat. That is one of the great drawbacks to our Reform party. They have not the organization or the spirit or the enthusiasm at the time of the election to go to the polls and put their candidates in. In the coming day let the Liberals join hand in hand and fight this battle to the very last.

The CHAIRMAN :—We will have to ask your indulgence a little while that gentlemen may be heard whom I am sure you will be glad to have address you. This resolution and the one preceding are the two most important resolutions put before the Convention, and therefore we can hardly devote too much time to their proper discussion. I shall now call upon Chief William Smith, of Brantford, Ont., to address you for a few minutes.

CHIEF WILLIAM SMITH, of the Six Nation Indians, Brant County, Ont. :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I do not intend to make a speech upon the general questions of the day, but simply to say a few words with regard to the Red men of this country. No doubt you are all aware that a few years ago the present Government saw fit to extend to the Indians of this country the privilege of voting in the Dominion elections. We Indians can easily see the meaning of granting this privilege. It was not to do the Indians good, but to do themselves good, by gaining more votes for their party. But we Indians have a little brains, too ; we can see which is right and which is wrong. And when the political question was introduced among the Indians, we studied carefully and listened carefully to the political speakers and soon saw that the Liberal party was on the right line. For that reason we took our stand with the Liberal party, and those whom I represent, in the south riding of Brant, on the Six Nations reserve, gave a majority of votes to Mr. Paterson. And we Indians endorse and will support in future the policy which the Liberal party advocate. It affords me great pleasure to be able to be present at this great Convention, as it will afford me pleasure to report to our people the bright hopes for the future which this Convention shows to exist. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the audience for the privilege of speaking these few words.

The CHAIRMAN :—I will now call upon Mr. F. P. Savoie, of Somerset, Quebec, an important manufacturer of agricultural implements, who will speak to you in the French language.

Mr. F. T. SAVOIE, Somerset, Quebec (Translation) :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I am very glad indeed to come forward and take part in

the discussion, if a few words of mine can have any weight. We established our factory eighteen years ago in the county of Megantic, and, if we have had prosperity in our business, it is not due to the so-called protection we have had. Before protection was adopted we did business, with a smaller capital it is true, but with dividends at least as satisfactory as they are to-day. Free trade offers as great advantages to the manufacturers as it does to any other class in the Dominion. If the farmer sells to advantage the products of his farm, there is no trouble about the manufacturer selling his plows. When there is prosperity among the farmers, there can be no doubt prosperity will be the portion of the manufacturers. That is about all I have to tell you, but I would like to add that I am delighted to be able to come here, and delighted to find myself so completely in accord with the reciprocity and tariff reform platform of the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN :—I am told that we have in the Convention a grand old veteran from the county of Kent, Ontario. I understand that he has reached the age of ninety years. I have no doubt the audience would be glad to hear from him.

Mr. JOHN MCFARLANE, Kent County, Ontario :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I am very glad indeed to have an opportunity of saying a few words in order that I may mention some matters that I have had under consideration for many years while living in this grand Province of Ontario. I was at school as many as eighty-four years ago. I have had occasion to pay a very great deal of attention to matters in connection with education, and one of the changes I have been proposing wherever I have had an opportunity and where I have met with those disposed to consider these questions, was to provide better postal accommodation for the benefit of the farmers with a view to the spread of education and the increase of intelligence in the country. We have already made great advances in this direction, but still further improvements are needed. I have been living in Canada for fifty-eight years, and have taken deep interest in everything likely to improve the condition of the rural population, for amongst that class I have spent most of my life. I believe also that our municipal laws could be improved so as to beneficially affect the intellectual condition of our population. I do not wish to occupy your time, but I am glad to have had an opportunity to mention these points, and I would be very glad indeed if the Liberal leaders would take up these subjects with a view to improvements on the line I have suggested.

The CHAIRMAN :—We have learned from a very old Liberal and a representative of the veterans. We shall now call upon a representative of the younger generation, one of the young Liberals of Ontario, Mr. W. G. Raymond, of Brantford.

Mr. W. G. RAYMOND, Brantford, Ont. :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I have listened with the greatest attention and the greatest respect to the remarks of our venerable friend who last addressed us, and I can only say, as representative of one of the Young Liberal clubs of Western Ontario, that we aspire to the same breadth of Liberal principles that he has expressed here to-day. We believe that as the twig is bent so the tree is



inclined, and therefore we have throughout our various ridings Young Liberal clubs, which, I believe, do much to assist in political contests and in forming the political opinion of young men who are growing up and for the first time taking part in political affairs. It is as a representative of one of these clubs that I have the honor of saying a few words to you on behalf of the young Liberals of Western Ontario. Throughout the West the feeling among the young Liberals of Ontario is that we have in the leader of our party to-day a man whom we can thoroughly and entirely trust, a man whom we can implicitly and confidently follow, and whom we believe we follow to a certain and a glorious victory. It has been said by a great statesman of the Old Country that, while political parties seek the assistance of men of genius, they will only consent to follow men of character. We are glad to know that we are following a man who combines in his own person both character and genius. I think, too, I might be permitted to remark that I am glad our leader to-day hails from the Province of Quebec, because in him we find the chivalry, the courteous, polished manners of his own race, and yet we find that in his mouth our native English language takes on beauties that our own leaders even have not developed. And behind his polished speech we find a breadth of Liberal opinion that would do credit to the greatest Radical in Old England. You know that our party has sometimes been accused of being an annexationist party, but we in the West have felt that the words of another great statesman were true when he said that patriotism was inherent in the people of every country. And I say that the Canadian people are not behind others in feeling that sentiment. If in the face of that you find any lack of patriotism, if you find any desire to join allegiance with another country, you must lay it to domestic misrule. If this country had been well governed, as it was from 1873 to 1878, you would not have heard among the people any more than you did then one whisper of annexation. We Liberals have had no part in this misrule which has made some of the people look to annexation. The true annexationists of Canada, therefore, are our Tory opponents. The platform that was brought forward before this Convention is one which every man who feels the growing strength of this country and feels the necessity for developing its resources must endorse. Such a man must hold that the present policy is no more suited to our country than it is suitable to plant an oak tree in a geranium pot. The present policy of restriction, of holding back, of living in a corner by ourselves, will never enrich the country, and I feel that I voice the sentiment of the younger element in this country when I declare that we must have something more extensive, something sounder in principle, and something more suited to the people of Canada. In conclusion let me say, that I feel now as I never felt before in my life, that there is something in the word "Canadian." Living in Ontario and in a most desirable part of it, we were proud of our riding, proud of its steadfast adherence to what we considered solid Liberal principles. We were proud of our Province of Ontario, and spoke of ourselves with pride as Canadians. But to meet friends here from the distant West, where, looking



forward, one sees the prairies meet the sky, meeting friends from the Maritime Provinces where the air is ever musical with the sound of the sea, meeting here our French friends, from old Quebec, makes us glad and does much to consolidate the patriotism of the people and make us feel that there is something in the word "Canadian," and that we can grow and develop into a nation under a sound policy based upon right principles. We have been blessed with a fine country, we have a good people; the only thing we lack is a government that will put into force those principles that tend to develop our country. I thank you for the kind way in which you have received my remarks, and I can assure you that when I go back to South Brant and tell my friends there of the meeting we have had of Liberals from all parts of the Dominion assembled in convention, I shall be glad to say that that which struck me most was that every patriotic allusion to the future of this glorious country was met with a storm of applause by the whole audience, and, next, that every time the name of the leader whom we honor was mentioned, it acted like a magic spell in awakening your enthusiasm.

The CHAIRMAN:—Gentlemen: You need not be reminded that this is a Liberal Convention and that there is no disposition to limit or restrict any gentlemen who desire a few minutes in addressing the Convention. I have a suggestion which I am sure you will gladly receive, that you should listen for a few moments to Mr. C. J. Devlin, M.P., for Ottawa County.

Mr. C. J. DEVLIN, M.P., Ottawa County, Quebec:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have much pleasure in endorsing the sentiments expressed by the previous speakers with regard to the policy which has been laid down, also with regard to the leader whom we honor, and whom, those of us who are members of the House of Commons follow with delight and obey without question, and whom we have had occasion to admire, perhaps even more than those who have the opportunity of hearing and meeting him less frequently. I do not feel out of place in this Convention, gentlemen, because no matter what reputation may have been given to me in certain portions of this country, I am a Liberal before everything. Whatever I have advocated, it matters not in what part of the country, it has been doctrine that every true Liberal should preach, and that every true and honest Liberal should stand by. I am a Liberal and that is the reason why I support the resolution which is now before us. It is a resolution which means emancipation from the very worst form of tyranny, it means emancipation for the people, it means that the people shall be allowed to trade as they please. It means the opening of the channels of commerce, and that is what we have been battling for, not only in the House of Commons, but in all parts of the country. The fight has been a long one, but why should we despair? Is it because there are on Parliament Hill a few gentlemen having control of the sinews of war, which we are told has some effect in certain quarters? Do we imagine for this reason that we cannot have victory? I come from the other side of the river; I come from that section of country that is specially guarded by the buildings on

Parliament Hill ; from a county that supported the Conservative party in the Dominion politics from Confederation and in Canadian politics before that time, and returned its members by majorities ranging from one thousand to two thousand. In fact I am the first Liberal member for the County of Ottawa. The great victory I won was not due to myself, far from it. I do not claim any credit in connection with that victory. But in that campaign I held aloft a banner inscribed "Honest Government," "Fair and honest trade for the people," "Wilfrid Laurier our leader." And the electors of the county of Ottawa understood the situation. I am a Liberal because I can faithfully follow Mr. Laurier ; I am a Liberal because in the past I have faithfully followed and faithfully fought for the grand old man of Ontario, Sir Oliver Mowat ; because I believe in the doctrines advocated in this country by another who to day is fighting the great battle of true Liberalism on the other side of the ocean, and who, when with us fought hard and well against terrible odds for the Liberal cause, Edward Blake. I am a Liberal because I find myself in harmony with the mottoes I see upon these walls and because I am able to join with you, my friends, with earnest determination to fight for the cause of Liberalism as hard as I can, following the great leader whom we honor and whom we expect after the next election to acclaim as Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. F. G. FORBES, M.P., Queen's, N.S. :—I appear in this Convention as *ex-officio* a delegate from the county of Queen's, but I am also specially delegated by the Liberals in the Townships of Barrington and Shelburne on the south shore of Nova Scotia. These counties are more interested in the development of the natural resources of the country and the extension of free trade, especially with the United States, than almost any other part of Canada. I can enthusiastically endorse the resolutions now before the Convention, as I believe I am authorized to support any broad and fair measure of reciprocity, as well as all strong measures and resolutions for tariff reduction. I desire to read resolutions from the districts of Barrington and Shelburne, and to say that I heartily endorsed the sentiments therein expressed on behalf of the people of the counties of Queen's and Shelburne :

June 20th, 1893.

FROM SHELburne, N.S.

Shelburne Liberals wish you to represent them at Convention. They endorse Mr. Laurier's leadership. Want freest possible trade relations. Answer.

GEORGE A. COX.

BARRINGTON, May 30th.—In consequence of the extreme distance and the unusually busy season it was considered impracticable to send a delegate, but it was resolved to ask Mr. F. G. Forbes, M. P., for Queen's, to represent the Liberals of the township and their wishes on the occasion mentioned.

The Chairman and Secretary were instructed to say to Mr. Forbes as follows :—

That for, and on behalf of this township, we beg to express a lively sense of our appreciation of the ability and worth of the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the esteemed leader of

the Liberal party of the Dominion, and of our utmost confidence in him and our approval of the policy of the Liberal party of Canada.

That we are instructed also to say that we are glad to know that the people of Canada are loyal and devoted to the maintenance of our connection with the British Crown and to government in accordance with the British constitution and precedent.

That the Liberals of this township, being citizen subjects of Canada, are intensely patriotic to her best interests first, and hence everywhere our people are awakening to the evils that are overtaking our country in consequence of protection, restriction—the National Policy.

That there can be little confidence placed in the pretensions of the Government to reform Canada's tariff, while its members are known to be wholly at the command and behests of the magnates of the Red Parlor, the servants of manufacturing monopolists, trade combinesters and paid Tory partizans.

That the Liberals of this township are rejoiced to see the disintegration of the present corrupt and incapable Government going steadily on, and heartily assure you that, as on all former occasions, when again they are permitted to express their opinions at the polls, they will assist with all their might to rid the Government of the country of such intolerable nuisances as the Carons, the Haggarts, and the Ouimets have proved themselves to be.

That tariff reform is in the air in this section of the country; also that our people of all political stripes are growing every day more and more desirous of freer trade—of liberty to buy where they can do so cheapest and to sell without restriction the products of their varied industries where the greatest equivalent can be obtained; and that the liberty should only be restricted by the absolute necessities for revenue to defray honest, economical, pure government, which alone can be reasonably hoped for from the great Liberal party of Canada; and that we request you to convey to the honored leader and the Convention these our views herein expressed.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously by standing vote.

The CHAIRMAN:—I think it desirable that you should now consider whether you will now proceed with the business before the House or take a recess until eight o'clock. (Cries of "Adjourn, adjourn.") Is it your pleasure that we take a recess until eight o'clock? (Cries of "Carried, carried.") The resolution is carried and the meeting stands adjourned until this evening at eight o'clock.

## SECOND DAY—EVENING SESSION.

The Convention resumed its sitting at 8.30 o'clock, Hon. A. G. Blair presiding.

The CHAIRMAN:—In common with you all, I regret the circumstances which have delayed the commencement of the proceedings to-night until this hour. We cannot afford to delay longer, therefore we proceed to the transaction of business. The first resolution placed before you will be upon the general subject of the corruption which has been practiced under the present administration. It will be moved by Hon. Mr. Longley, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, and seconded by Hon. James Young, of Galt, Ontario, and will be spoken to by Mr. J. P. B. Casgrain, of Montreal, Mr. William Wilson, of York county, New Brunswick, and others.



H A BATE, ESQ.,  
Hon.-Secretary, Ottawa Local Committee of Arrangements.



## THIRD RESOLUTION—CORRUPTION CONDEMNED.

Hon. J. W. LONGLEY, Attorney-General of Nova Scotia :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : When a man finds himself face to face with such a Convention as this made up of men representing all the various sections in this wide Dominion, there are a great many preliminary observations he would like to make ; but as, by the rules of the Convention, we are confined to ten minutes, I find it necessary to plunge at once into the midst of things. All who have attended this great Convention must recognize the fact that the leading issue which the leader of the Liberal party proposes to place before the people in the great contest before us is the issue of tariff reform and reciprocity with the United States. But, while these are the great issues upon which the election is to be fought, I think it would be unpardonable, if, in a gathering of the Liberals of this wide Dominion, we did not give a clear, emphatic, and ringing expression of opinion in regard to the iniquitous exposures in regard to dishonesty in public affairs which has disgraced this Dominion for a number of years past. While the tariff question is the one which will attract the greatest attention in the fight, that with which I am now dealing is intrinsically greater than even the tariff question itself. The people of Canada may be able to struggle along under an unsound fiscal system, or even without reciprocity with the United States, but neither Canada nor any other country can live and prosper as a free community if there is dishonesty in the administration of public affairs. Sir, as we all know, this is a Convention of Liberals. If there is one principle which more than another characterizes sound Liberal doctrine it is that the people rule, and that only by the will of the majority of the people shall any person have the right to exercise power. I wish to point out how closely allied is this resolution to the principle of Liberalism. We have a Government now so long in power that they seem to have come to believe that they are the masters and the people the servants, that they have a right to take the public money and use it to keep themselves in power, and to enable them to continue to feed at the public crib. But, if I understand the principle of popular self-government aright, it means that men in the position of cabinet ministers are trustees for the people, and that the money they receive from the people must be used solely for the fair and just administration of public affairs. But that is not the principle upon which this Government has acted. The money taken from the pockets of the people has been utilized in every corrupt and abominable form by these men in order to keep themselves in power. Take one instance, from which you may judge the rest. The case I give you is not based on newspaper rumor, but has been proved in the courts, in courts hostile to the sentiments of the people with whom I am politically associated, courts constituted by the very ministers who were accused and constituted for their special benefit. It was proved that one of the ministers of the Crown received \$25,000 from a person who had a contract with the Government of Canada in relation to a public work. Whether he put that money into his own pocket or whether he spent it in corrupting and

debauching the electors does not in the slightest degree touch the question we have under consideration. When the people of Canada place a man in the position of a minister of the Crown they engage him to be the guardian of public interests against the slightest wrongdoing or foul play, and his relations with public contractors must be such as will leave him free to do his duty as a servant of the public. But how can he do that when he takes the contractors' money? Doing so he becomes the slave of the man who has the contract. Where the popular will rules, such things cannot exist. It is the same with dishonesty in a nation as it is with dishonesty in an individual. If the people tolerate dishonesty it will bring disgrace and ultimately ruin upon them. This, Sir, I consider a matter abundantly worthy of being considered by this Convention, and I am glad that the opportunity has been afforded of presenting this resolution. Sir, as stated by speakers who have preceded me, charges have been made that this Liberal party of Canada is a disloyal party and not devoted to the interests of Canada. That has already been eloquently and forcibly repudiated by the man who stands to-day as our recognized leader. But I am here to reiterate that sentiment from my standpoint. If there is one sentiment which has been characteristic of this great Convention, it is a most earnest national feeling and aspiration on the part of the representatives assembled here from every quarter of the Dominion. Not a single syllable has been heard that does not breathe the warmest devotion to Canada, the strongest attachment to her institutions, and the most exalted hopes for her future. I have been charged with not being true to this country, but, so far as I know, every one of the slanderers who have made that charge has gone to the United States to get himself a living. While these people have gone to the United States to make a living—"faint hearts," I suppose one of their leaders would call them—I still remain here bound to give to this country every energy I possess in order to build the country up into a nation of which we may be proud and able to bequeath that determination and that pride to my children. I am reminded that my time is nearly up. Let me say that there is one thing in which we can take pride in the contest that is before us and that is we have as our leader a man against whom a single word, even a suspicion, has never been uttered. We have seen tributes to his character from newspapers hostile to him politically, we have seen tributes to him by nearly every leading religious periodical in this country.

At this point Mr. H. A. Bate, Secretary of the Ottawa Committee, came forward and hung above the platform a banner upon which was inscribed, "Laurier expects every man to do his duty."

Hon. Mr. LONGLEY :—Pointing to the motto continued: I trust that these words will be inscribed upon the heart of every man who sees them and that they will inspire him to action on behalf of the country we love. As a Canadian I feel very sorry to move this resolution. But I

cannot go on speaking. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") No, I am the Crown officer and I am bound to see that the laws are executed. This is the resolution:—

That the Convention deplores the gross corruption in the management and expenditure of public moneys which for years past has existed under the rule of the Conservative party, and the revelations of which by the different parliamentary committees of inquiry have brought disgrace upon the fair name of Canada.

The Government, which profited politically by these expenditures of public moneys of which the people have been defrauded, and which, nevertheless, have never punished the guilty parties, must be held responsible for the wrongdoing. We arraign the Government for retaining in office a Minister of the Crown proved to have accepted very large contributions of money for election purposes from the funds of a railway company, which, while paying the political contributions to him, a member of the Government, with one hand, was receiving Government subsidies with the other.

The conduct of the minister and the approval of his colleagues after the proof became known to them are calculated to degrade Canada in the estimation of the world and deserve the severe condemnation of the people.

I hope that from one end of this Dominion to the other, whatever may have been the discouragements of the past, there is now enough of public sentiment, enough regard for public morality, enough esteem for liberty and the public welfare, to so arouse the people as to sweep from power those who, engaged as public servants, have been false to their trust, and to warn others that they must not dare to violate these great and solemn obligations.

HON. JAMES YOUNG:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I came to this Convention as one of the rank and file and, as thousands of other delegates have done, to endeavor to do something, however humble, to restore the prosperity of Canada. From the resolutions already adopted, as well as from others which are about to be proposed, I am convinced that we have a capital platform, one upon which every true Liberal throughout the Dominion can stand. But, good as that platform may be, it will be useless unless it is the means of driving the present corrupt and incapable Government from power. It affords me great pleasure to second the resolution, and the first thing which strikes me in regard to it is that, however it may have been with the Conservative party, the Liberals of the Dominion have never had cause to blush for their leaders. Although individuals may have made mistakes sometimes, under great provocation from the tactics of their opponents, the Liberal party as a whole, and I can speak specially of the party in Ontario, has been true to the principles of pure and honest government, and the leaders chosen from time to time have been worthy of a party holding such exalted principles. They have been men of great ability and high personal character, men whose aims were high, whose lives were pure, and whose hands were clean. We had such leaders in Lafontaine, in Brown, in Dorion, in Blake, in Alexander Mackenzie, and it is noteworthy that Quebec, which in the past gave us two great leaders in Lafontaine and Dorion, has now given



us a third in the person of Mr. Laurier, who, by his talents, his uprightness and his eloquence, is the peer of any of his predecessors. The present position reminds me of the time when (I was then a mere lad) the majorities of Ontario and Quebec were united in a solid phalanx to uphold Liberal principles under Baldwin and Lafontaine, and history seems about to repeat itself. So close was the union at that time that when Mr. Lafontaine was defeated in Lower Canada, he was elected for one of the ridings of York near Toronto, and should the time ever come, though I do not think it ever will, that Mr. Laurier should suffer defeat in Quebec, I feel sure the Liberals of Ontario will offer him the choice of a dozen different seats. In discussing the corruption of the present Dominion Government I am called upon, like the Israelites of old, to make bricks without straw, for how is it possible to treat such a subject in ten minutes? I feel like old Jake, a character in a Western village badly given to swearing. The boys decided to play him a trick one day. As he was driving up a hill with a load of pumpkins, they quietly slipped out the backboard, and the old man turned round to find his pumpkins rolling down the hill, one after another. For a moment he seemed speechless, but as the boys called out, "Jake, why don't you swear?" he drew himself up and called out, "Boys, no language could do justice to this occasion!" Many of the administrative acts of the Conservative party have been proven to be corrupt, and it is not too much to say that corruption has never been so extensively and openly practised in Canada as it has been since they took office in 1878. The Public Works Department has been proven to be a sink of corruption. To get rid of the odium they have thrown one Jonah overboard, and there is another now in Paris who will likely have to go. The Augean stable, however, cannot be cleansed in that way, and may I not parody the old lines and say:

"You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,  
But the scent of corruption will linger there still."

The Government have spent large sums in public works, particularly in building railways of a local character, to secure political support. Not a few of these works would not have been undertaken had they not been required to secure the return of Conservative candidates, and so openly has the corrupt system been practised of late years, that even post-offices costing fifteen thousand dollars have been erected in small villages, whose total revenue does not exceed four hundred dollars. Besides millions spent on political railways, the Government has made the Senate a mere instrument to help to keep themselves in office. Senatorships have practically been bartered for political support, either to ambitious outsiders or to defeated politicians. What could be more absurd than that, after the people have declared they will not re-elect an unfaithful representative, even for five years, the First Minister can, by a few strokes of his pen, make the rejected person their representative for life? I do not charge all of them, but it has been proven that some of the ministers have bled public contractors as they have never been bled before. The recent inves-

tigations made by Parliament proved that contractors with the Public Works Department in one case obtained nearly one million of dollars fraudulently from the public chest, and not a little of this large sum went into the Conservative election funds. This is not mere hearsay. I am confident I am correct in saying that the accountant of the Government himself swore that the sum practically stolen from the public chest in this single instance amounted to no less than \$987,000. Mr. Chairman, either the Government knew that this was going on or they did not. If they did not know it they were incompetent; if they did know it they were corrupt. In either case they deserve to be driven from power. The most corrupt man mentioned in English political history is Sir Robert Walpole. On one occasion he was charged in the House of Commons with corruption. He promptly rose in his place, pointedly denied the allegations, and demanded an investigation by Parliament. But how do the members of our present Conservative Ministry act? When the Opposition made their charges of corruption against Sir Adolphe Oaron, when they produced proofs of his guilt in the shape of facsimiles of the numerous receipts given in connection with corruption moneys, did he or his colleagues, like Walpole, demand investigation by a Parliamentary Committee? No, they not only refused that, although the large majority of the Committee were their own friends, but they actually altered the charges so as to take the sting out of them, and then sent them to what, I do not hesitate to say, was a partisan tribunal appointed by themselves. My time is up, and I will only add, in the language used by Sir John Macdonald on a memorable occasion: The Government is steeped to the lips in corruption. And if the electors wish to preserve their own honor, if they do not desire the good name of Canada to become a by-word and a reproach, they will rise in their might at the next election, drive the Tories from office and give us a Liberal Government under Mr. Laurier, which, I hope, will remain in power for the next twenty years.

The CHAIRMAN:—I have now much pleasure in calling upon Mr. J. P. B. Casgrain, President of the Montreal Young Men's Liberal Club.

Mr. J. P. B. CASGRAIN, Montreal:—Mr. Chairman, and fellow-electors of the Dominion of Canada: As I passed by the Chairman he kindly said to me, "You have only five minutes." And yet I am asked to speak to no less a resolution than one deploring the corruption of the Tory administration. How can I do justice to that subject in five minutes? It would take a cycle of time to relate even one tithe of the records of corruption of that party. You have heard Mr. Tarte—a man whom Canada knows well and honors—state that when he was divulging to the public of this country the scandals of this administration, he was offered for his silence and refused what every honest man should refuse under such circumstances, position and money. When we consider the corruption of that party, I say we should require a lifetime indeed to speak of it as we should to the Liberals of Canada. And, Gentlemen, let me tell you that these scandals are cropping up all the time. In the city of Montreal,

and I am proud to have now the honor of speaking for the Liberals of Montreal who have not been heard thus far this evening, one of these scandals is even now under investigation. That latest scandal, I was commissioned, with a confere of mine, to investigate; I refer to the corruption and dishonesty just being brought to light in connection with the building of the Curran bridge. So glaring is the scandal, that Mr. Haggart himself thought it wise and judicious to adpoint a commission of inquiry. You may judge of the magnitude of the steal and the impossibility of keeping it dark when the Minister, whom we thought lost to all sense of shame in public affairs, actually felt compelled to order a public investigation. I was commissioned as a professional man, a civil engineer, to appear and give expert evidence before that commission. And I have to report to this memorable gathering that though my colleague and myself presented ourselves day after day before that commission, we were invariably denied the right, as citizens, as British subjects, of giving evidence on a public question. I have been refused the right of looking into the plans and the contracts. When, therefore, you find the very commissioners appointed to hold a public commission and investigation themselves denying the public access to these public documents, you may judge for yourselves the nature of their inquiry. I see on this platform leading men, members of Parliament, who will not be similarly denied when they demand access to these papers on the floor of Parliament. I believe that these men may be trusted to see that a regular investigation shall take place, when it will be proven that that work has cost the Dominion of Canada, has cost us as citizens of the Dominion, more than thrice what it should have cost. But, Gentlemen, there have been many bye-elections, and as you know, bye-elections have become very expensive to the Conservative party. Money had to be raised, and that is the reason why the Government gave the contract to a well-known Montreal contractor, giving him no less authority than to employ an unlimited number of laborers; and, though he was paid a stipulated price, he paid the laborers only the regular wages, and charged the Government with the contract price. I do not lay the blame so much on the contractor, but I lay the blame on the Government, and I take issue with the Government on that subject. The Government had no right to pay the contractor sixty per cent. more for labor than the laborers received from him. Gentlemen, I am reminded that I have only one minute more. Let me tell you that corruption has taken effect from one end of the country to the other, but that the electors are at last awake to this fact. We have seen signs of that awakening in L'Islet, and later, since the vicious character of the Government's policy and the corruption of their administration have been more fully exposed, we have seen the county of Vaudreuil return Mr. Harwood, who was on this platform this evening, by the unheard of majority of 196 votes. In these two counties the Conservatives had the help of a swarm of public contractors, who spent both their money and their time, and, when the Government cannot keep two counties in the bye-elections, where will they be when the general

election comes on? Particularly when, in contrast with them we can show for our leader a man against whose character not a single word of reproach or even of suspicion has ever been uttered, and who can inspire us with the watchword spoken by one of the kings of old France to his followers: "Suivez toujours mon panache blanc vous le verrez toujours sur le chemin de l'honneur."

MR. WILLIAM WILSON, York County, New Brunswick:—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am a stranger, I presume, to most of those present. I have no great reputation, as have the majority upon this platform, to recommend me to you, but I can say that ever since I was able to form an opinion upon any public question, I have been a Liberal. I identified myself with the Liberal party because it gave to New Brunswick, my native Province, responsible Government, and wrung from the iron grip of the Tories of that Province recognition of the principle that gave to every young man, however obscure his birth or humble his parentage, the privilege of aspiring to the highest position in the gift of the country, if he had the necessary qualifications therefor; because it gave us free education, because it gave us free franchise, by which every man is allowed to declare himself on public questions according to the dictates of his own conscience. It was the adoption of Liberal principles that lifted the people of New Brunswick to the dignity of citizenship, and gave to it a position of prominence among the colonies of the Empire. When the great movement for the confederation of the British North American Colonies was begun, the Liberal party gave it their support, because they believed that it would consolidate those colonies, and build up, perhaps, a greater Britain on this side of the Atlantic; and if the effect of the accomplishment of that great movement has been disappointing, this result has been due more than anything else to the corruption which has characterized the administration of the Tory party ever since they came into power. It is stamped upon their railway policy. No man who has the interests of the Dominion at heart could object to the expenditure of public money for railway construction to develop the resources of the country. That is one thing; but it is a very different thing to take public money and give it to railway constructors in such sums, as not only to enable them to build the roads, but to buy up constituencies to keep the Government in power, to become rich, cross the Atlantic, and become members of the House of Lords of Great Britain. It is stamped upon the legislation which they have placed upon the statute books, as is evidenced by the provisions of the iniquitous Franchise Act which has placed the electorate in the hands of the Government and has been used as a means to thwart the public will, as in the case of Mr. King of Queen's County, who, although elected by the people several times, was not allowed to take his seat. The Government simply told the returning officer not to return King. Corruption is stamped upon their every act, until the name of Canada has become a by-word and a reproach among the nations of the earth. And, when an investigation is called for, and it has been established before a tribunal appointed by these

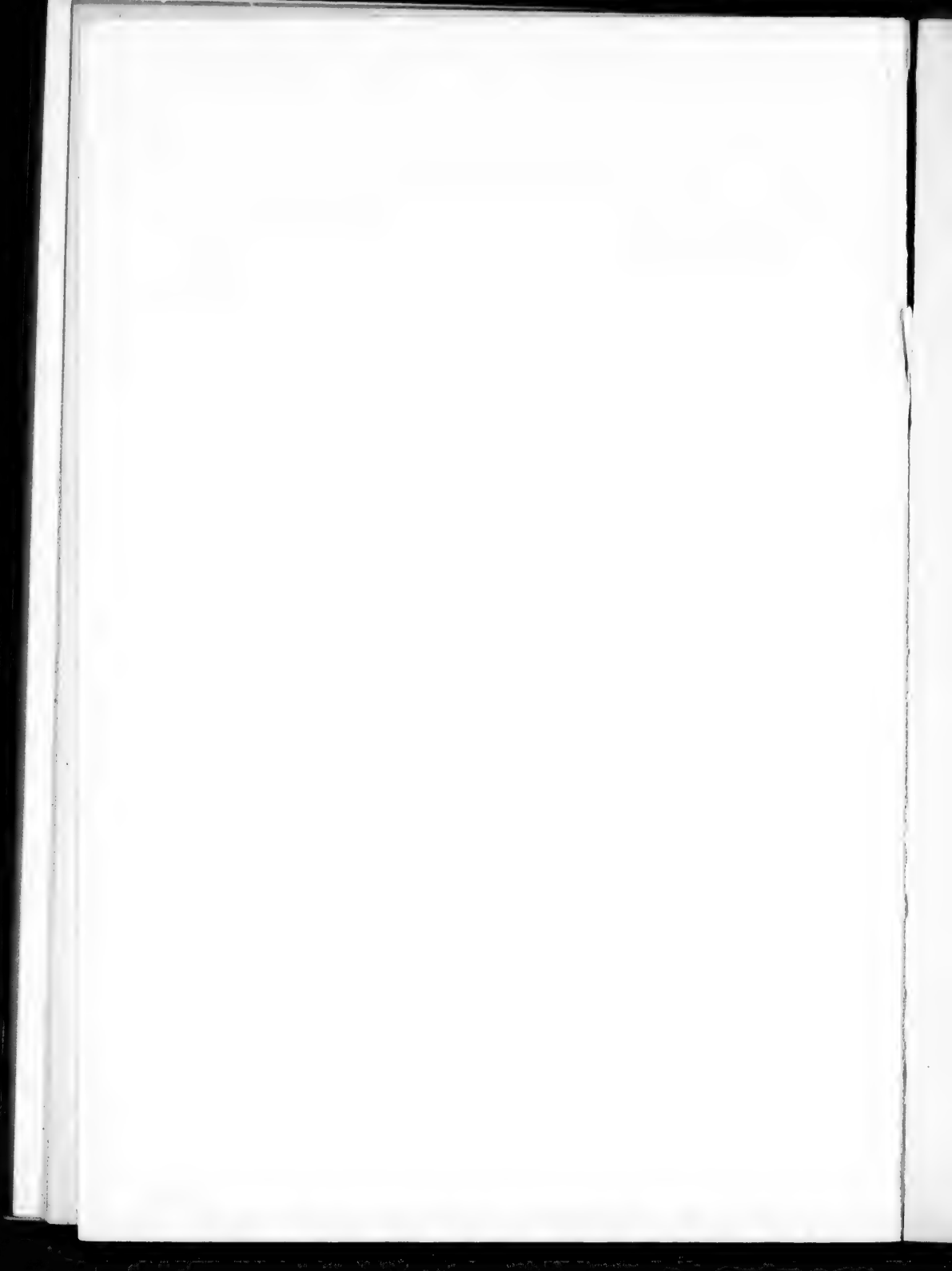
people themselves, that they have taken public money to keep themselves in power, we see the people's representatives voting confidence in the very men who have robbed the country that they may still rule. This is certainly a disgrace, and can only be explained upon the principle of the verdict of a jury in favor of the man who was accused of stealing a hog. His guilt was clearly established, so that even his counsel thought there was no chance of an acquittal. But the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty." When the accused man was asked by his lawyers to explain so strange a verdict, the reply was:—"There's not a man on that jury but had a piece of that hog." So it must be with the representatives of the people who can be induced to exonerate Ministers of the Crown who have been proved guilty of gross corruption. They must have shared in the spoils. The only hope there is for the people of this Dominion is to hurl the present Government from power and place men in control of affairs whose purity of character is an assurance of honesty in their administration. I hope the holding of this Convention is only the beginning of the end, and that the time is not far distant when the consolidated Liberal sentiment of this Dominion directed against the present administration will hurl it from power, and then, and not until then, in my opinion, will our people, untrammelled by hostile tariffs, iniquitous legislation, mal-administration, extravagance and corruption, be enabled to place this Dominion in its proper position among the nations.

The CHAIRMAN:—I have the name of another gentleman to mention to you specially, Mr. H. J. Cloran, of Montreal.

Mr. H. J. CLORAN, Montreal:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I must confess that it is not a pleasant task for a young Canadian to be obliged to address a public assemblage so important as this upon corruption recognized as an existing evil in the administration of public affairs. It is a regrettable thing that the people of this young and ambitious country should be called upon so soon to pronounce upon an issue of this kind. But, unfortunately, this evil which is eating at the vitals of the body politic cannot be ignored more than can a similar disease in the human body. The cautery must be applied. And what will history say concerning Canada during the regime of Tory administrations? A country's standing is largely judged by the prosperity of its people and reputation of its public men. What is to-day the prosperity of the people of this country? Is it the stock of the cotton kings, the iron dukes, or the sugar barons, or do we look for it in the homes of the farmers and workingmen? Our stocks may have gone up, but so have the mortgages upon the farms of this country. The condition of the people at large is not such as to justify the conclusion that this country has been properly governed. The N.P. was to have given us National Prosperity and National Progress. But instead of these we have had to endure National Poverty and National Peculation. These are the N.P.'s that have developed during the last fifteen years. The National Policy has had the effect of turning the wealth of the nation into the greedy hands of the monopolist; it is a huge sieve through which the wealth of



JAMES SUTHERLAND, ESQ., M.P.,  
NORTH OXFORD, ONTARIO—Chairman General Committee of Arrangements.



the nation drops to the few, while the dregs remained for the many. The National Policy has created the Red Parlor at Toronto, where the iron dukes, and the coal barons, and the cotton kings meet to yield to the administration a share of the wealth which they have obtained through the tariff maintained by the administration. It has created the shanties those dens of thieves, where the men who had only their daily labor to support them met and drank whiskey, champagne and brandy at the expense of the public. These are the results of this administration which is corrupt to the core. Not only has it affected the character of the people, but it has affected the character of our public men. Under the National Policy our public men have been encouraged and taught to plunder the public treasury by the million, and the same influence teaches the poor workingman on the public works to steal a load of wood. The minister steals the million, and is condemned by the House. A Langevin goes down, a Rykert goes down, a McGrevey goes down. And now within the last few weeks we learn that half a million, probably even three-quarters of a million, have been squandered on a small canal bridge in the city of Montreal. From end to end of this Dominion the public works have been used as an excuse for squandering uselessly large sums of money which should have remained in the treasury, or better still should never have been collected from the people. Such a record is one that should be condemned in a meeting of this kind. Such a record should be placed before the people of this country who should be asked if they are prepared to send again to Parliament men who carry out a system which is degrading our public life and making our people poorer and poorer every day.

The resolution was put and unanimously carried.

#### FOURTH RESOLUTION—ECONOMY.

The CHAIRMAN :—The next resolution will be proposed by Mr. George C. Gibbons, of London, Ont., and will embrace the general subject of the economic administration of the Government.

Mr. GEORGE C. GIBBONS, Q. C., London, Ont.:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am glad my time is short, knowing as I do, that you do not need to be convinced with regard to the resolution which I have the honor to place before you, for the fact that you are here is proof that you have already been convinced of the truth of the principles advocated by the Liberal party, and about this one there is no dispute. The evidence you have had before you as citizens has convinced you, and you have come here from your farms and shops and offices impregnated with the truth of these principles and anxious to uphold them. I move the following resolution :—

We cannot but view with alarm the large increase of the public debt and of the controllable annual expenditure of the Dominion and the consequent undue taxation of the people under the Governments that have been continuously in power since 1878, and we demand the strictest economy in the administration of the government of the country.



The only people who can afford to be extravagant are the members of a protectionist Government. Believing, as they say they do, that the higher you put the taxes the better for the people, it is necessary and a blessing that they should have an extravagant expenditure. In the United States it was necessary to have a pension list in order to get rid of the money taken from the people illegitimately by the tariff. If you feel that the tariff is a tax you will watch the expenditure, and it becomes necessary for the Government to be economical. But if the people get it into their heads that the more tariff they have the better, they will allow the Government to collect an enormous revenue and will encourage them to waste it by increasing the expenditure in a hundred ways that are wholly unnecessary. This Government have run up the annual expenditure, as you know, some thirteen millions since Mr. Mackenzie's time. They made a protective policy an excuse for making the tariff much higher upon goods not made in this country at all, and this enabled them to collect from the people immense sums of money which they have expended extravagantly. At the same time this system enabled them to arrange the tariff to benefit their friends so that the manufacturers collect large sums from the people in respect of which the public treasury gets no benefit at all. This is not a case of mouldering branches; the trouble is not in the branches but in the tree. The principle of protection, I am glad to say, this Convention has condemned—straight from the shoulder. Our enemies say we have no policy, but they have a policy and we know what it is; it is to keep in office by bribing the constituencies, by making arrangements with contractors and manufacturers for the support of those classes. If we have no policy except to turn the rascals out, that is a good policy to begin with. The resolution we have passed is a declaration that the Government is not there to interfere in trade or to enable certain people to rob the masses for their own benefit. We have a policy that has been defined specifically, and it is not necessary for me to discuss it. I wish to say that, coming from a western town, I rejoice to meet here such men as I have met, men like our noble leader, Mr. Laurier, men like our Chairman here (Mr. Blair), Mr. Fielding and many others, and, meeting these men, I feel a greater pride in our common country which has produced them. We have not been discussing here what is better for England, France or the United States, but what is good for our own country, Canada, and Canada is good enough for me. My loyalty is first to my native land, and I am proud of the stand on that matter taken by our leader. Whatever you may call him he is a Canadian, first, last and all the time. If we are ever to have a country we must have a Canadian national feeling; we must have a love for our native land, Canada. We love Mr. Laurier because we know he is thoroughly Canadian. He is not French because his ancestors were French any more than I am Irish because my father was Irish. One word more. I want to say. This Convention is going to do good. We in London think we have a right to speak to you because we believe we have won the

right to be considered among your best fighters, and we have a representative after our own hearts in Mr. Hyman, your secretary. Mr. Hyman is higher by far in the estimation of the people than if they had knighted him. In fact we have a sort of suspicion in the Wild and Woolly West that these holders of titles in Canada are a benighted lot at best. I want to ask you one thing and that is to go back to your constituencies determined that there shall be some results from this Convention. Keep up your organization, keep up your enthusiasm. The right is on our side. We are not sent here by people who paid our way; this is not a Convention of office seekers, but a Convention of the people, and no matter what they say about us, the Conservative ministers will begin to draw their salaries in advance from the rising of this Convention.

The CHAIRMAN :—The resolution will be seconded by Hon. Clifford Sifton, of Manitoba.

Hon. CLIFFORD SIFTON, Attorney General of Manitoba :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am pleased to be here as the representative of the youngest Province of the Dominion, a young man myself to be in official life, to meet with the honored leaders of the Liberal party, to listen to their deliberations and to learn wisdom in matters political, as well as to assure them of my support and of that of my brother Liberals in Manitoba. I found it somewhat difficult to make the time to come here, and only succeeded in arriving this morning in time to hear the results of the deliberations and with no expectation of taking part to any great extent in the proceedings of the Convention. I fancy it is hard for us to realize how much importance is attached to the deliberations of this Convention by the people of Canada. Since it was announced that Hon. Mr. Laurier purposed calling a convention of the Liberals, wherever I have been I have met people, both Liberals and Conservatives, who have said to me: I wonder what will be done at that Convention. I wonder whether a policy will be laid down that the people will endorse. I trust their deliberations may be wise. I believe I am right when I say that there never was a gathering, certainly not since the fathers of Confederation met, to which the people have attached so much importance as they do to the present Convention. I was present this morning when the Committee on Resolutions were discussing the motions placed before them and, I suppose, like all the other members of the Committee, I found some things in the resolutions which I did not altogether agree with. But I am happy to say that, as presented to the Convention these resolutions express the concentrated wisdom of the Liberal party of Canada, and they are of such a character that we have no doubt the people of Canada will uphold and endorse them. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am called upon to second a resolution affirming again the Liberal principle of economy. I do not propose to lecture men who are my seniors in wisdom as well as in years upon the necessity of economy in connection with the administration of public affairs, but I wish to call attention to this fact, that, as Liberals, we have the right to say that we are the exponents of economy. Our

opponents do not even pretend to be economical ; their principle is to get all the money they can from the people and distribute it amongst their friends. I was particularly impressed with one speech delivered here this evening, that of Mr. Davies, in which he spoke of the struggles the Liberal representatives have had in the Parliament of Canada since 1878. You look in vain through the history of Constitutional Government to find an opposition placed under such disadvantageous circumstances making so gallant a fight for the people who sent them there. I am proud to be a supporter of such men. And, not to take up more of your time, let me just say that I am glad to assure our leader that our young Province of Manitoba fought in the last election a gallant fight, though an unsuccessful one, and that we trust that the platform of a revenue tariff accompanied by the promise of economy will enable us to send you a substantial delegation to the next Parliament of Canada.

The CHAIRMAN :—I am glad to be able to tell you that Hon. Mr. Joly has consented to take the chair.

Hon. H. G. JOLY assumed the presidency of the meeting and called upon Mr. Edmund Guerin, of Montreal, as the next speaker.

Mr. EDMUND GUERIN, Montreal :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I am glad to have the opportunity of addressing this Convention in support of a resolution on behalf of economy. Those of you, Gentlemen, who have been living in a large city like Montreal, struggling against adversities caused by high taxes and monopolies and doing everything possible to uphold the banner of Liberalism against the exactions of the Tory party, do not require any long speeches upon the subject of economy. To be other than economical would soon lead to one being driven, as so many have already been, across the border to earn a living among the Yankees. If there is any argument needed to prove the truth and timeliness of this resolution you will find it in the motto upon that banner. Out of \$7,000,000 of the products of manufacturers exported from this country, \$1,500,000 was in the shape of household effects. That is an indication of the large number of men who established homes in this country and had to cross the border in order to earn bread for themselves and children. The exodus from Canada is only paralleled by the case of the Jews when they were compelled to go into the house of bondage, and the record tells us that on the day they left they sang songs of their beautiful home, and wakened with the plaintive harp memories of the glories of the past. In the same way men born and brought up in this country are not anxious to leave their native land. Every one of us has dear friends and many have near relatives who have crossed the border, and who are now scattered over the United States. Wherever you go in that country you meet Canadians, and I am glad to say that the Canadians over there still cherish the same love for their native land that we do. We have heard over and over again eloquent speeches upon the patriotism which every man has inherent in his nature. I had a touching example of that in my own experience. Two years ago I travelled from Montreal, through the United

States to the Pacific. In almost every place I visited I found old friends, dear friends of my boyhood, who had been obliged to cross the border. In the beautiful city of San Francisco, I remember well, in July two years ago, a number of Canadians were gathered together. We spent the evening talking about our native country. In our number were some who were able to sing the old Canadian songs. One song we sang was "Vive la Canadienne," a song familiar to every Canadian and one to arouse his love for his native land. One who was there was an old man, who had said but little. He had lived in this country in his boyhood and had made a fortune in California. But when he heard the beautiful song of his Fatherland, the tears dropped from his eyes, and he asked me all kinds of questions about this beautiful Canada of ours and of the changes in his own city of Montreal. This is only an illustration to show that no matter what may be said there is implanted in our hearts a love of this country. Not only do we love Canada, but even those who have crossed the borders and become residents under another flag have still the same feeling of love and regard for their native land. We must check this exodus by some means, and the only way is to make this country a cheaper country to live in than the United States. If we can accomplish that, instead of an exodus from Canada, we shall find an exodus from all the different parts of Europe into this country of men anxious to earn a livelihood for themselves and their children. We must curtail the enormous expenditures which the Government of Canada has been making. We have just had a great storm. Some tell me that even the heavens are applauding the eloquent speeches you have heard to-night. But there is a greater storm arising, a storm of public indignation which will drive from the Hill the iniquitous Government who have been depriving us of our property and preventing us from enjoying the fruits of our own labor.

The CHAIRMAN :—I shall now call upon Dr. McLennan, of Inverness, Nova Scotia.

Dr. ANGUS McLENNAN, Margaree, N. S.:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It affords me great pleasure, indeed, if only for five minutes, to address this great gathering. The peculiar circumstances under which I come before you adds greatly to the pleasure I have, inasmuch as I occupy much the same position as the eloquent and gifted gentleman from L'Islet (Mr. Tarte). In explanation I may say that I also supported the Conservative party up to a late date. A few years ago I, in common with several others of my fellow countrymen, became of the opinion that the National Policy, which has a considerable bearing upon the resolution before us—for the Convention will agree with me when I say that it is this policy that has provided the funds for carrying out the corrupt and extravagant schemes of the Government—had survived its usefulness. In following this line I am glad and proud to say that I am only following in the footsteps of men whose names are familiar as household words throughout Canada as men of distinguished reputation not only in the world of politics but in the world of letters. A

distinguished Nova Scotian, for some years resident in the Province of Ontario, declared a short time after the last Dominion election, that he who wished to rule the political destinies of this country must make up his mind that the National Policy had won its last victory. I believe, with this distinguished gentleman, that such is the case. I have believed it of late more than ever before, but never did I so fully believe it as after having witnessed this great gathering, which shows that public sentiment has awakened to new life. I was glad of the privilege of being present for other reasons than that which I have indicated. I was glad of the opportunity to become better acquainted with the public men of Canada, and also to ascertain whether I could fairly and squarely stand upon the platform adopted by the Liberals of Canada. I am proud to tell you, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, that I shall have no hesitation in going home and telling the people of Inverness that I have taken my stand upon the platform adopted here to-day, and that I intend to contest the next election upon that platform. This leads me to a reminiscence of the election of 1891 which bears directly upon the subject under consideration. The gentlemen running in the Liberal interest held a meeting, and I was present in the interest of the Government candidate. We have in our extensive county a French population of about six thousand, and it was in their district that the meeting was held. The Liberal candidate called upon these men to stand by him because he was going to vote to have a fellow countryman of theirs as leader of his party and Premier of Canada. I must say for Mr. Macdonnell, the candidate, with whom many of you who are Parliamentarians are probably acquainted, for he sat in the House for ten or twelve years, that he said not one word too much when he praised the character of the Liberal leader. In reply I asked in what respect the Liberal leader was superior in character and standing to Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron and others. Gentlemen, the Government polled every vote in that district. These men had the names of the French Conservative leaders before them, and at that time no serious suspicion had arisen. But, gentlemen, could I stand at a public meeting in that locality now and make a similar answer? I could not, and that is one of the reasons why I am here with you to-night. There is another reason. It was well said by one of the speakers that the leading members of the Provincial Government were driven here by public opinion, and that no credit was due to them for being here. I say that I am in a measure pressed to be here by public opinion in Inverness, because the representative of the county in that House on yonder Hill, in speaking of the National Policy, declared that not a brick of that structure must be removed. The people of Inverness declare otherwise, and have sent me here to voice their views in this regard. Even the Government go further in this direction than their very tame supporter from Inverness, and declare their willingness to pull bricks from the National Policy structure, and even ask the people which bricks to pull. I thank you most sincerely for your patient and kindly

hearing, and close by expressing a hope that on a future occasion I may meet some of you at least. I can make no more eloquent speech to you than to promise to do what I can to remove at least one brick from the present Government majority. If I can remove the member from Inverness from his seat I shall indeed have spoken eloquently to you.

The CHAIRMAN :—We shall now have the pleasure of listening to Hon. H. R. EMMERSON, New Brunswick.

Hon. H. R. EMMERSON, Chief Commissioner of Public Works, New Brunswick :—Mr. Chairman and Fellow Liberals : I did not come to this feast exactly with my wedding garments on, but I want it to be distinctly understood that I came here in my true colors. I was born a Liberal and I have continued to be a Liberal, and I have a little matter to settle with the Tories, and that is the reason I came to this Convention. I took two knock downs from the Tory party and I thought it was due to myself and to my fellow Liberals that I should come to this great gathering and do what little I could to make out a statement of the principles of the Liberal party, in order that we may remove from power at the next election the corrupt administration of the day. I say I was born a Liberal, but I never until yesterday really appreciated what it meant to be a Canadian Liberal. You and I have heard for many years that the Liberal party was dead, but if that ever was so I think our honored leader is a perfect Gabriel to have called us to such a glorious resurrection at one trumpet blast. The 20th of June, let us say, is the resurrection day of the Liberal party, and the Tories will find that it is just the liveliest corpse they ever had anything to do with. Now, it is said that we have no platform, that we never had a platform. Down in the Province by the sea, where I come from, I have a little to do with the bridge contracts, and very naturally observed the bridges along the route in travelling up to this Convention. I was pleased to see that the people of Quebec have some very fine bridges, I hope that we in New Brunswick may have as fine before many years. But we here have constructed a bridge in our declaration of principles, that will carry us across the chasm into power on the Hill yonder. Our honored leader will be the first man to cross and we will follow him. But I want to know this—if we have no platform, tell me, pray, what is the platform of the Conservative party?

A Voice :—Plunder.

Hon. Mr. EMMERSON :—I admit that plunder has been the chief foundation, but I mean as to fiscal questions, what is their policy to-day? Some reference was made to the children of Israel. I have read a little about them. I cannot repeat the Scriptural names, but if you will look in the book of Numbers you will see it stated that the Israelites pitched their tents at this place, that they departed thence and pitched their tents somewhere else, and thus it was all through the two and forty journeys of the children of Israel. So it is with the Conservative party, they pitched their tents in Protectionism and the next election they camped at Pretended Reciprocity, and I would like some one to tell me where they

have pitched their tents to-day. Listen to one minister and you will think they are in favor of protection. Listen to another, and you would think they wanted tariff reform. Nowhere is this encampment fixed. Somebody said they would steal our clothes. If they ever do it will only be to use them as overalls, to be cast off after the dirty work of deceiving the electors is completed. Neither you, Mr. Chairman, nor anybody in this hall can tell what the platform of that party is, or is going to be. To-day as I stood yonder by the City Hall watching the display made by the firemen, two gentlemen stood by. They were both great Conservatives and, no doubt, they both hold good fat offices. They were talking about the great assemblage of Liberals in town. One said, "They are here in great numbers, but they have not driven me to the woods yet." "Why," said the other, "we will have the laugh on them yet, we will steal their thunder." There was one man who certainly did not know what the Conservatives' own thunder would be. None of them know. I can best illustrate their position by a story. Some of you may have heard it, but the idea will bear repeating even if the story won't. There was a gentleman who had a Jersey bull, and it was a rather refractory animal. He wanted to tame the bull. He tied a rope around its neck, the other end being attached to his own waist the better to control the animal. He didn't know much about Jersey bulls. Then he led it out into the field. For a moment the bull looked round and sniffed. Then he took it into his head to have a little gambol, and started off through the fields. The man was at the other end of the rope, mind you. Sometimes he was on the ground, and sometimes he was in the air. A friend came along that way, and observing the speed of the man's movements, he asked, "Hallo, Jones! Where are you going?" The answer was, "I don't know; ask the bull!" The Tory party don't know where they are going. If you want to know ask the monopolist bull. My time must be more than up and I shall therefore—(Cries of "Go on, go on.") See here, we didn't come here to talk. For my part I came here to hear others, and I have had more pleasure in listening to the young men from every section of this Dominion than from anything else in this Convention. I wanted especially to hear the young men, for in them are centered the hopes of the Liberal party. I know they will be guided by the wiser heads. I know they are willing to accept advice, and I feel that we shall have that advice. I find myself talking to you as if I were a young man. I sometimes feel that I am. Indeed, I know that I am a young man in years, but I am rather old in politics, having run six elections in six years. Therefore, if I choose, I feel that I can talk to you as an old man. We have a platform in which we can take pride; we have a leader whom we can honor. I can say this for the people of the Maritime Provinces. He came down to see us a year or two ago, and we were charmed by his manner and by his eloquence. But there were other things that recommended him. His life, which has been above reproach, his name, which is the watchword of honor and integrity throughout the Dominion; and if there is an exem-

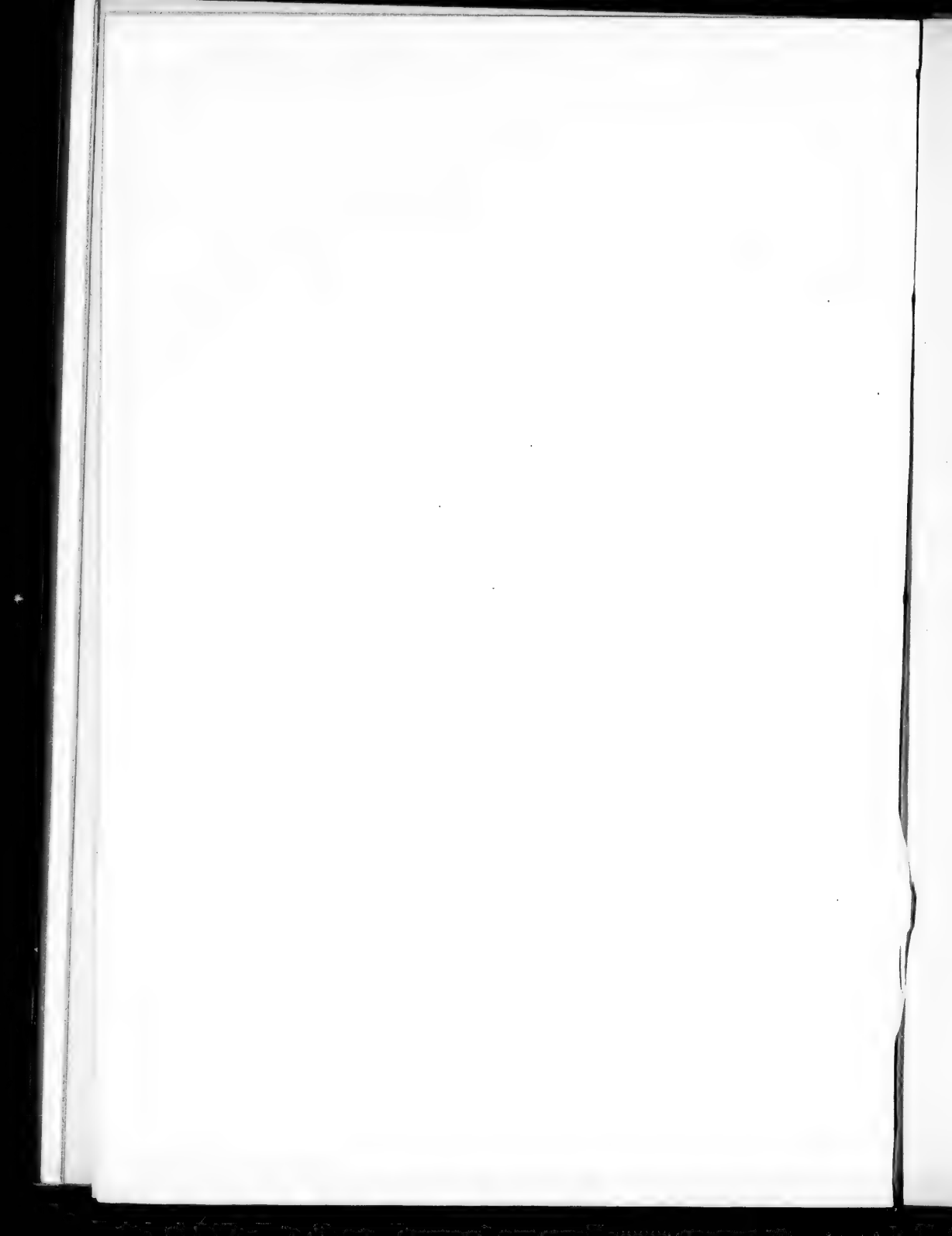


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WILLIAM GIBSON, ESQ., M.P.,  
LINCOLN AND NIAGARA, ONTARIO—Chairman, Committee on Transportation.





plar to whom the young men of this country, and especially those who aspire to positions in political life, can look with confidence, he is to be found in the leader of the Liberal party. But it is not to him alone that we can look in that way. Sweep your eye around and look at our leaders from all the Provinces. Where can you find their equals? The Tory party cannot produce them. But it is not upon our leaders alone that we have to rely for the future of the Liberal party, but upon the sierred ranks of men who, by virtue of their coming here from the ends of the Dominion, have shown that there is in them loyalty to the true principles of Liberalism. They have come at their own expense. They are here as patriotic citizens, and as loyal citizens; loyal, it is true, to our Queen, but above all and over all, loyal to Canada.

The CHAIRMAN :—I have now the honor of calling upon Mr. Edward Halley, of Montreal.

Mr. J. W. SHAW, Toronto :—I desire to ask a question, Mr. Chairman. Do you intend finishing to-night?

Hon. Mr. FIELDING :—Yes; that seems to be the general wish.

Mr. SHAW :—If you expect to finish to-night, then you cannot have so many speakers upon one subject.

The CHAIRMAN :—This is the last speaker upon this resolution.

Mr. SHAW :—There are other questions to come up and I hope you will allow an equally long time for the consideration of them.

Mr. EDWARD HALLEY, Montreal :—I think it would be wrong for me to weaken the effect of the eloquent remarks of the last speaker by any extended observations of my own. I did not expect to be called upon, but, as one of the official representatives of Montreal Centre, I was glad to hear Mr. Guerin speak. We have probably the hardest district in Canada to fight. We have a district in which the great manufacturing interest of Canada are centered, and you can understand that we have put in many a hard night's work to try to win that district for the Liberal party. Under these circumstances you can readily understand that this Convention will be a help and an inspiration to us. Each and every one of us will leave this Convention convinced that we have seen the greatest meeting in the history of political parties in Canada. But, while you are listening to the great speakers, remember, Gentlemen, that your duty does not cease with attending this Convention. You are bound to do all you can to inculcate in the public mind the principles which here you have declared. You are bound to strike out from the shoulder, to prove to our opponents that we have more than words to aid us, that we have energy and determination to fight for the principles for which we have fought all our lives.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

#### FIFTH RESOLUTION—FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The CHAIRMAN :—The next resolution will be presented by Hon. David Mills.

Hon. DAVID MILLS, ex-Minister of the Interior, M.P., Bothwell :—  
 Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : I shall solicit your attention but for a few moments in discussing the resolution put into my hands. The resolutions that have been submitted to you may be divided into two classes, in fact they so divide themselves ; one class referring to the administration of the affairs of the country in the proper sense, the other class to the character of the machine by means of which that work is to be carried on. It is to the second class that this resolution belongs. In every business in life, if we are to have work well done, it is necessary that the appliances with which that work is carried on shall be of the best possible character. Now, there is perhaps no system of Government in the world which so well accomplishes the end of good Government as the British parliamentary system, when in the hands of men honest in their intentions, and desirous of giving that system a fair trial. Of course we are much more interested in material questions than in questions of a constitutional character when our objections are purely theoretical ; but we should never forget, that the long experience of the Mother Country, in matters of Parliamentary Government, shows that every rule and every principle that appertains to the system is of consequence and never can be safely departed from, nor can such departure, without danger to the State, be permitted. One of the complaints we make against our political opponents is that they have departed very widely from the system of Parliamentary Government which has grown up in England, which we have here copied, and of which they profess to be the special guardians in this country. I say "profess" advisedly. If they had anything like the regard for that system which they profess, they never would have degraded it as they have done by the many extraordinary departures from its principles which have characterized the career of their party. Now, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, when mistakes are made in this regard, we must go back to first principles, and there is no principle in Parliamentary Government, better established than this one—that, in the administration of public affairs, and especially in the expenditure of moneys entrusted to the advisers of the Crown, the House of Commons, the members of which are elected by the people, shall exercise a strict and careful supervision. The House of Commons never undertakes the work of administration ; it could not do so in the public interest, but it would be derelict in its duties if it failed to exercise a careful supervision over the conduct of the administration, and to call them to account whenever necessary. One of the complaints we make against the Government is that the moneys voted by Parliament for one purpose have been used for another and different purpose ; and, when an investigation is demanded to prove this charge and an attempt is made to condemn the guilty parties, the Government by a departure from sound constitutional rules and principles shielded those who have offended, because the administration in most instances profited by this misconduct on the part of one or more of its members. The Government has said and the Government press has said, in

defence of this conduct, that there was a statute of Parliament which authorizes the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into all matters relating to public affairs. Sir, there is such a statute. For what purpose does it exist? Is it to enable the members of the Government to inquire into their own conduct? That is supposed to be known to them, if they are in full possession of their rational faculties. This statute is to enable them to inquire into the conduct of their subordinates for whom they are responsible to the public, and to facilitate their work in exercising supervision over the conduct of those subordinates. But such power is never used in the Mother Country for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of ministers themselves. The first abuse of this kind that occurred under this pretense of Parliamentary Government was the case of the Pacific Scandal. The two parties were divided on that, and the administration, to shield themselves, proposed a royal commission appointed by themselves to inquire into their own conduct, and to report to them so as to enable them to advise the Governor-General what to do to the ministers who gave the advice. I have only to state the case to show how preposterous it was. We insisted upon the supremacy of the House of Commons, and upon the responsibility of the ministers to that House. We insisted upon the well established parliamentary rules that a committee of the House of Commons should inquire into matters of public expenditure when charges of misconduct were made. We were outvoted. An imperfect investigation took place and even then sufficient evidence was disclosed to lead to the downfall of the administration. The Liberal administration did not renew that investigation and the general impression is that the failure to renew that investigation and continue the inquiry into those charges was a blunder on the part of the leaders of the Liberal party of Canada. Now, Sir, you have had two cases since then. You have had the case of charges relating to Section B. of the Canadian Pacific Railway, when the Government refused all inquiries in any form whatever, and the charges against Sir Adolphe Caron, in reference to which they refused to consent to an investigation by a Committee of the House and insisted on an investigation by a commission appointed by the Government themselves. Well, Sir, the resolution put into my hands asserts the ancient Parliamentary doctrine. The money voted by Parliament is the money of the people of this country. The House places at the disposal of the Crown certain sums of money for certain specified purposes, and if a wrong is done, or if a mistake is made, it is the business of Parliament to investigate the matter, and to see whether the charges against the ministers are well founded or not. There is no other duty of the House of Commons so ancient; there is no other duty of the House of Commons better established. Well, Mr. Chairman, I am not going to trespass upon the indulgence of this Convention, but I wish to say that it is of the first consequence that we should keep before us clearly the fundamental principles of our system of Government in order that abuses such as I have mentioned may not be practised with impunity in this country. If the people want

to govern we must adhere to these principles, which long experience in the Mother Country has shown to be of paramount importance in the conduct of public affairs. I move:

That the Convention regrets that by the action of Ministers and their supporters in Parliament, in one case in which serious charges were made against a Minister of the Crown, investigation was altogether refused, while in another case the charges preferred were altered and then referred to a commission appointed upon the advice of the Ministry contrary to the well settled practice of Parliament; and this Convention affirms:

That it is the ancient and undoubted right of the House of Commons to inquire into all matters of public expenditure, and into all charges of misconduct in office against Ministers of the Crown, and the reference of such matters to royal commissions created upon the advice of the accused is at variance with the due responsibility of Ministers to the House of Commons and tends to weaken the authority of the House over the Executive Government, and this Convention affirms that the powers of the people's representatives in this regard should on all fitting occasions be upheld.

Mr. Chairman, I have much pleasure in submitting this resolution to this great Convention, not more because you take special interest in the case than because your representatives in Parliament feel that the maintenance of the sound principle of government declared for in this resolution is one of the essential conditions upon which alone good government can be maintained in this country.

The CHAIRMAN:—Hon Mr. Marchand was to have seconded this resolution, but as he has been obliged to leave I will call upon Mr. O. Demarais, M.P.P.

Mr. O. DEMARAIS, M.P.P., S. Hyacinthe (Translation):—He deemed it an honor to be called upon to second so important a resolution, especially when it was moved by so high an authority on constitutional law as Hon. David Mills. He recounted the struggles at the cost of which Responsible Government had been won. The essence of popular Government was that the representatives of the people should have control of public affairs and should alone be the judges of the conduct of ministers, as the people should alone be the judges of the conduct of their representatives. For the representatives of the people to delegate their duties in these matters to royal commissions was in clear violation of sound principle. These commissions had served as a means of white-washing political criminals who controlled their nomination, and of doing injustice to the opponents of the Ministers. The system of appointment was such as to bring the judges of the land into the political arena and thus to throw discredit upon the bench, against the public interest which required that the magistracy should not only be stainless, but also that it should be held in respect by the people. He hoped that the Liberal party, when it came into power would abolish this practice, and that the Province of Quebec would be treated constitutionally like the other Provinces. He demanded no more than justice. While the majority of the inhabitants of Quebec were of French origin, they did not forget that they were subjects of the same Sovereign; and, while they asked that their traditions and beliefs be respected, they were ready to march loy-

ally shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots of a different origin toward the common goal, the prosperity of their common country. French-Canadians were not fanatics; they respected the beliefs of all and wished to live in harmony with all. The praises bestowed upon Mr. Laurier, their leader, had pleased his French-Canadian compatriots, and they would rally round him, because they were convinced that he would respect the Constitution and would show himself a worthy successor of Lafontaine and Baldwin, of Dorion and Mackenzie, whose mantle of leadership had worthily fallen upon his shoulders.

The CHAIRMAN:—I have pleasure now in calling upon Mr. F. L. Webb, Colborne, Ontario.

Mr. F. L. WEBB:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I wish I could speak to you with the fluency of the gentleman who has just taken his seat, or with the constitutional authority of the gentleman who moved the resolution, but it is not necessary for me to attempt either and thus take up your time by any further reference to this resolution, for it seems to have met with the unanimous approval of all present. I can and do gladly support every plank of the platform which has been so carefully prepared by our foremost statesmen and which is now being so freely discussed and unanimously approved by this immense Convention. I am from East Northumberland, and, as one of the younger representatives, am prepared to sit here and learn from our tried and experienced leaders what is necessary to be done to further the cause of good and honest government. Before I left home I was spoken to by many who have never heard the talented and able leader of the Liberal party, and they made me promise that I would not return without endeavoring to get a promise from him to speak in our constituency. The people there are only waiting to see him and hear him in order to honor and love him as the representative men from all parts of the Dominion here assembled already do. I feel sure that if our honored leader can arrange to make a tour through Ontario, so that the people can become acquainted with him, that fact alone will insure his success and the success of the Liberal party at the next election. I had formed an idea of my own before coming here as to the importance of this Convention—I expected it would be a great convention—but it has far exceeded anything I had imagined. The representative character of the meeting and the enthusiasm and unanimity of those in attendance far surpass anything I had allowed myself to hope for. If this meeting can be taken as any criterion of the feeling throughout the Dominion, it certainly augurs well for the campaign of which this is a commencement. The banner before you says, "Laurier expects every man to do his duty," and if we are true to that I am sure the Liberal party will carry the Dominion upon this platform and under his leadership.

Mr. C. W. COULTER, Cayuga, Ont., ex-M.P., Haldimand:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: As it is so late and as we are in the closing hours of the Convention, it would be wrong for me to take up unnecessary time. Let me say, however, that I sympathize with the resolution. Some may say that

it is a mere question of sentiment, but we must remember that noble sentiments do not perish, but live to inspire to noble actions. When we remember that the system of parliamentary government under which we live has been won at the cost of the lives and liberty of many of the noblest citizens of Canada and of the noblest citizens of England, it becomes us to learn how to guard our heritage against destructive innovations such as that of royal commissions to investigate charges against ministers, the commissions appointed and the charges framed by the ministers themselves. The principle of Responsible Government is that the ministers shall be responsible to the representatives freely elected by the people, and if we allow this principle to be impaired we are false to the record of the true Liberals in every stage of history. We should be false to the memory of the great and noble men whose names you see inscribed upon that banner, Papineau, Baldwin, Lafontaine, Dorian, Brown and Mackenzie, did we allow the privileges of the House of Commons to be impaired by a partisan administration. There is a name that I think should be upon that scroll the name of William Lyon Mackenzie, who, I am proud to say, was my predecessor in representing the constituency in which I live. He was the man who fought the principle of responsible government in Canada, and exposed even his life to danger, in order to defeat the Family Compact and bring about Responsible Government. Having the example of such men, who showed the courage of true Britons and true Canadians, we should be arrant cowards did we not guard the rights which they have gained for at such terrible cost to themselves. We are not obliged to expose lives to danger. Our lot has fallen to us in much more pleasant times, and all that it is necessary for us to do is work on earnestly, making known the truth, and to be ready at the proper time to mark our ballots so as to assure the success of our principles and of our noble leader.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

#### SIXTH RESOLUTION—THE LAND FOR THE SETTLER.

The CHAIRMAN :—The sixth resolution relates to the disposal of public lands, and will be moved by Hon. Robert Watson, of Manitoba.

Hon. ROBERT WATSON, Commissioner of Public Works, Manitoba :—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen : I have had placed in my hand a resolution, the terms of which may be new to some of you. It is brought forward now for the purpose of again placing ourselves before the country, and to remind the people that this is a policy that we have advocated for years, for we are not like the Tories, camping in different places ; we stay with the same principles always. I am glad to present such a resolution to this great gathering, the grandest political gathering, I believe, ever held in Canada. This is the resolution :—

That in the opinion of this Convention the sales of public lands of the Dominion should be to actual settlers only, and not to speculators, upon reasonable terms of settlement, and in such areas as can be reasonably occupied and cultivated by the settler.

Now, I occupy a position somewhat similar to that of Hon. Mr. Davies, who addressed you this afternoon. He told you that on his first election to the House of Commons, he was entrusted with the moving of a resolution on the subject of reciprocity and that he had the pleasure of bringing a similar resolution now before this Convention. I entered Parliament about the same time as Mr. Davies did, and the first time I addressed the House it was my duty to speak on the very question covered by the resolution I have read to you. This giving the lands to the actual settlers in the Northwest is not a mere provincial matter, not a matter that relates to the Northwest alone, but a matter which interests the whole Dominion. We have room there for millions of people. We have, I can safely say, the finest agricultural country in the world. Everybody knows that we grow there the wheat that makes the finest flour in the world. We labor under some disadvantages on account of our distance from the market, but the superiority of our soil and the peculiar fitness of our climate for the growing of the No. 1 Hard enable us to overcome the disadvantage of the long haul. Of course we are placed at a great disadvantage by the policy of the corrupt Government now in power, by the system of monopolies which they have established. We in the West have to thank the Liberals of the East for the support they gave us in fighting the system of railway monopoly, compelling the Government in 1888 to yield the point and allow us competition in railways. We have even a greater disadvantage than that of railway freights in this accursed tariff which has borne so heavily on the settler. I am free to admit that with us many of the people are hard up. How could it be otherwise under such a system? I have no hesitation in saying that if the money unjustly taken from the pockets of the people were returned, every man would be able to pay off his debts and have something to his credit in the bank. We have no use for protection in the Northwest, for nothing is raised in price for the benefit of the farmer, but on everything he buys he has to pay extra on account of the tariff. Therefore we want the freest possible trade. I have been very much pleased with this Convention. I am a mechanic myself and understand something about manufacturing implements, and I know that the manufacturers of Canada are not the monopolists that may make them out to be. We have proof before us that there are good and true men among these manufacturers, and I am proud to see these gentlemen stand on this platform to declare that all they ask is a fair field and no favor. The manufacturers, to my knowledge, are hampered on account of this restrictive policy, because they have to pay excessive duties upon their raw materials, and so they have to charge higher prices. Many of them are not rich. If they could get all the money exacted from the people they might be well off, but we must remember that there is a Red Parlor in Toronto. We know that the Tories can't run an election without a fund, and they get that fund from the monopolists. They go into the Red Parlor and meet there the Tory leaders, who say to them: We have passed a law which enables you to get high prices; we have licensed you to rob the people and we want a portion of



that plunder ; we have made you fat, now we will just put you in the frying pan and fry a little of that fat out of you, to grease the planks on which we expect to slide into power again. The hour is late and we expect to close business to-night. I think we would make a great mistake if we did not do so. We have had a grand time. So far as the lands in the Northwest are concerned, I do not think there can be two opinions as to how they should be disposed of. In 1882 millions of acres were locked up in the hands of speculators, land companies and railway companies. We did not particularly object to land grants being made to railway companies to build roads through that country, but, as is well known, the Liberals contended that if so granted, the grants should be accompanied with certain conditions which would prevent the land being put beyond the reach of the actual settler. The whole Dominion is interested in that country, and it is to the interest of the people of Canada that it should be filled with settlers. We are spending large sums of money on immigration, and I can tell you that if we had free trade in Manitoba we should have thousands and hundreds of thousands without spending a dollar to get them there. What the people of Manitoba want is a fair field and no favor. As it is now we are compelled to sell our produce in the markets of the world, and then we have to turn round and buy our supplies in a protected market. We are hampered just as the manufacturer is hampered. We are taxed both on what we produce and on what we buy. Talk about prices, we cannot increase prices in the markets of the world ; but we can lessen the cost of production, and that is the same thing to the producer. I have great pleasure in submitting this resolution and I have no doubt it will be carried unanimously. I trust that in this next election every man will be found loyal to the motto, "Laurier expects every man to do his duty." Laurier is entitled to expect every man to do his duty. We have heard to-night about the corruption of this administration, but we have at our head a man who has occupied a public position for over a quarter of a century, and not yet has any man dared to charge him with corruption in word or deed.

The CHAIRMAN :—The resolution will be seconded by Hon. James H. Ross, of the Northwest Territories.

Hon. JAMES H. ROSS, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I consider it an honor to the Territories from which I come and to myself that I should have been selected to second this or any motion before this Convention, and that it is especially an honor to me to be associated, as I am in this resolution, with that stalwart Liberal, Robert Watson, of Manitoba. No man has done greater service for Manitoba than has Mr. Watson ; no name is more respected in the Northwest than his. I suppose I was selected to second this resolution because it was thought that a Liberal who would come two thousand miles to be present at this Convention must be in earnest ; then, coming from that portion of Canada which is most directly affected by this resolution, he should know some-

thing about the question and, being a Speaker, would be able to say well what he had to say. I am Speaker of an Assembly governing locally the greater part of Canada; but you well know it is not one of the necessary qualifications for the position of Speaker that he should be able to speak. I feel that this resolution should and will be adopted by this Convention. If you were in the Northwest and knew the position you would gladly accept this resolution. We have had large grants of land made to corporations, the bulk of which is still locked up. It is in the hands of speculators. The effect of this is that in a district of five miles square, or the ordinary school district with us, you may perhaps find only a dozen actual settlers. They have to tax themselves heavily for education and other public services, although everything they do tends to improve the value of the speculators' land as well as their own. I may tell you that in the near future it will be necessary for the Dominion of Canada to take back from these corporations some of that land. They will have to recoup the owners, of course, but in the interest of the Northwest, in the interest of Canada, they must endeavor to get back those lands. These corporations are enabled to hold the land because they have cheap money at their command. While they can get money at three or three and a half per cent. they can afford to hold lands which are yearly advancing in values.

A voice:—Single Tax.

Hon. Mr. Ross:—Hear, hear. But are you aware that for at least ten years the lands of which I speak are exempt from taxation in any form? We have reason to believe that the Liberal party are in sympathy with us in this matter and we are confident that when they come into power the proper remedy will be applied. It is late and I know you expect me not to speak at length. We in the Northwest, as Dominion eavors go, do not deserve much at the hands of the Liberals, because I do not think you have had the pleasure of welcoming a member from there. But you must remember that we Liberals in the Northwest are handicapped by the fact that a great number of those who vote in proportion to the total vote cast are Government people who have been sent up from the East, their chief qualification for office being that they always voted the straight ticket. We have, therefore, a great deal to contend with in Dominion politics. But I am of opinion that the policy that you have laid down to-day, tariff for revenue only looking towards free trade, will win great favor in the Northwest. The farmers with us believe in protection, but not that breed which we have had. They want now to be protected from the manufacturer; they believe that their only chance of success lies in getting their supplies and implements, which are their raw materials, at as cheap a rate as possible, knowing as they do that the only articles which they produce for export, No. 1 hard wheat and No. 1 grass beef (both the best of their class in the world), must find a market in free trade England. It goes without argument that protection in any form must injure and cannot assist them. I believe that the people of

the Northwest will respond to this policy and will express their confidence in our leader, and that we shall be able to send you at least one-half of the representation in the next election. We hope and trust that Mr. Laurier and other leading Liberals will take the opportunity to visit the Hope of Canada, the great Northwest, in the near future. To see and hear our leader is to have confidence in him. Should he visit us and make an appeal to the intelligent electors of the Northwest on the lines laid down to-day, I am confident the people will respond to his call. Let me say in conclusion that I have been far more than repaid for my long journey in listening to the speeches of our leaders and others. In our Provincial and Dominion leaders we have some of the greatest minds in Canada, and it has been a great pleasure for me to meet and listen to them at this Convention.

The resolution was put and unanimously carried.

#### SEVENTH RESOLUTION—THE FRANCHISE ACT.

The CHAIRMAN :—I shall now call upon Hon. A. G. Jones, of Halifax, to move a resolution relating to the franchise.

Hon. ALFRED G. JONES, Halifax, ex-Minister of Militia :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : The resolution which has been placed in my hands calls for the repeal of the Franchise Act. It is a resolution which will be cordially approved by every Liberal in the Dominion and, I venture to say, by a large proportion of the Conservative party as well. Before proceeding to discuss it briefly, let me read the resolution :

That the Franchise Act since its introduction has cost the Dominion Treasury over a million of dollars, besides entailing a heavy expenditure to both political parties ;

That each revision involves an additional expenditure of a further quarter of a million ;

That this expenditure has prevented an annual revision, as originally intended, in the absence of which young voters entitled to the franchise have, in numerous instances, been prevented from exercising their natural rights ;

That it has failed to secure uniformity, which was the principal reason assigned for its introduction ;

That it has produced gross abuses by partizan revising barristers appointed by the Government of the day ;

That its provisions are less liberal than those already existing in many Provinces of the Dominion, and that in the opinion of this Convention the Act should be repealed, and we should revert to the Provincial Franchise.

In 1887 the present administration, finding their National policy was being discredited all over the country, and themselves threatened with defeat, the happy idea occurred to them of taking the electoral list under their own charge, appointing revising officers to prepare the lists, so that under the bright management of these officers a majority of the electors might be thrown on their own side. We all remember, Mr. Chairman, the long fight which the Liberal members of the Parliament made against that Act in the House. For three months at least they remained there day after day and night after night, defending the rights of the people of Canada against such encroachment. To their great credit be it said—and

we owe them a debt of gratitude for their labors—the struggle they made resulted in having the provisions of the bill largely reconsidered, and objectionable features removed. Since that time every year's experience has proven the Act to be even worse than our friends had anticipated. We found that the lists were revised when it suited the political exigencies of the party in power. We found in many cases elections held upon lists which had not been revised for two years. We found that a large number of young men were left off these lists. In the last election it was estimated that seventy thousand of these young men had thus been disfranchised, and all this simply in order that the Government might continue themselves in power. The Liberal party has strongly opposed that Act through its whole course, and it is fitting and proper that at this great Convention of the party it should be laid down as one of the planks in the platform that this Act should be repealed and that we should revert to the Provincial franchise lists, which have the merit of involving little expense, being prepared by the different municipalities in the various Provinces, and which even those who proposed this Act could not show in any case to have worked unfairly or injuriously to the people of Canada. For these reasons we can appeal to the people to sanction this plank of our platform, confident that they will give it their approval. I should have liked, had time permitted, to enter into a discussion of some of the other subjects which have been engaging the attention of the Convention, but they have been so ably discussed that I need not occupy much of your time. We have had a Convention here of Liberals from all parts of the Dominion. The Maritime Provinces have sent you nearly two hundred delegates who have come here at their own expense to take part in these discussions. They have come here because they believed this to be a critical time in the history of the party. They came because they believed that the position of the country demanded this sacrifice and, as patriots and men interested in the welfare of the country, they are willing to make that sacrifice for the country's good. They have always been willing to do that. They have conducted their own elections at their own expense. They have never had a corruption fund to fall back upon. They have not had contractors upon whom they could draw for hundreds of thousands of dollars for political purposes, but they have paid the expenses of election contests, like good citizens, out of their own pockets. When I look at the revelations made in the House of Commons of the expenditure of public money for corrupt purposes, I wonder that there is a single Liberal returned to the House. But these things are passing away and, in the case of this Franchise Act as in other matters, good men, even among our opponents, begin to see that our contentions are sound. I believe that the principles we have laid down will commend themselves to the good sense and patriotism of the people.

Mr. D. MONET, M.P., Napierville (Translation):—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: First I must thank you for the honor done me in calling upon me to second, in the name of the French Canadian people, the motion now

before you condemning the Franchise Act. The speakers who preceded me complained of not having more than ten minutes, but, for my part, I am happy in not having more time. What can I say that will be new to you upon a question that has been so generally discussed since 1886? What can I say that would strengthen your opposition to a law of which even its author the Government is so ashamed that it will not carry it into effect? The law provides that the voters' lists shall be revised every year, but in practice they are not revised oftener than once in two years. If one considers the extensive patronage which goes with this system of revising the lists under about 200 Revising Officers, if one considers the tender solicitude with which the present Government cares for its friends, he must be convinced that the Franchise Act must be a very shameful and wicked law when the Government is actually ashamed to put it into force. The preparation of the voters' lists cost the Dominion nothing before 1886; they were prepared and revised with greater equity than to-day under the municipal councils, whose members knew who in their several localities had acquired and who had lost the right to vote in the district. And I say to the honor of our municipal institutions in the Province of Quebec that the voters' lists were always made with the impartiality which might be expected from the true public spirit of the great body of our citizens. The Conservative Government is faithful to its traditions of limiting the right to vote, as well as it can, to its own partizans. It declares that the judge of the citizens right to vote shall be precisely that person who, by his political leaning will be in certain cases interested in depriving the citizen of the franchise. So far as our opponents are concerned, the revising officers are paid for their work. I can perhaps speak for their zeal. But the Liberals who are obliged to appeal to these officers are often met with the denial of the franchise to those aspiring to that privilege, so that the attempt to secure justice costs us very dear under this law. Why not return to the old system under which the municipal councils make up the lists without cost to the Dominion and more equitably than under the present system. I do not wish by any means to rest my case wholly on the dollars-and-cents argument. I am a Liberal, and I believe that we have never had in Canada a more reactionary law than the Franchise Act. I admit that that law has extended the franchise considerably as compared with what it was before. So far so good. But the vicious element of the law, an element which will always prevent it from being administered equitably is that it places it in the hands of devoted, and in some cases it may be unscrupulous partizans to judge of the right to vote on the part of their political opponents, or, what is not more reassuring, on the part of their political friends. Placed thus between his duty and his interest, the revising officer too often yields, and not in vain does he hold in his hands the power to disfranchise a sufficient number of electors to affect the balance of the vote in the riding. If the revising officer is not ruled by conscience, who can prevent the falsification of the lists. In a country like ours the rulers should avoid placing in the hands of political adver-

saries the power of decision on a matter so sacred as the right of the suffrage. Every man who can be compelled to pay taxes to the State has the right to give a vote upon the disposal of those taxes and he has a right to censure or approve the administration of the government and no authority has the right to prevent him. But this is what has already happened in consequence of the present law. The Government arrogated to itself the power not to have the lists revised in 1889 and again in 1890, and then it suddenly brought on the elections of 1891, so that thousands of intelligent young patriots were deprived of the right to say what they thought of a government the most extravagant and most corrupt that we have ever had. We understand perfectly why the Government refuses to modify the Franchise Act. It is very important to the party now in power that the educated young men of the country shall not have a right to vote. They know that the younger element among our citizens is Liberal and the less it is allowed to declare its opinions the better for the Conservatives. But I hope that this unfair advantage on the side of the Government will be brought to an end. Looking at this great Convention gathered from all parts of the country to define our programme and rally round our distinguished leader, I do not need to be a prophet in order to predict with confidence that the days of the Conservative Government are numbered. We shall have very soon a Liberal Government economical enough to strike out of our list of appropriations this useless expense of revising officers and Liberal enough to give every facility possible to every citizen who wishes to be an elector, to have his name placed on the voters' list by the authorities of the municipality and honest enough not to fear the verdict of all good citizens. I desire to support the motion with all my power in the name of the Province of Quebec, where, perhaps, we suffer more than elsewhere from the present partizan regime. In closing, permit me to digress so far as to thank you, Gentlemen of the English-speaking Provinces for the manner in which you have eulogised our compatriot, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier. It is natural that we should be pleased with that. The praise which you have so lavishly bestowed upon him proves to me that it is not among Liberals that race prejudices exist. That which I shall recall most forcibly in this Convention is the unanimity with which you have applauded him, the respect with which you have treated him, the confidence with which you have saluted him as the coming Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.

The CHAIRMAN:—I have now pleasure in calling upon Mr. N. W. Rowell, Toronto.

Mr. N. W. ROWELL, Toronto:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: At this late hour I shall not venture to detain you for more than a moment or two. As one of the youngest members of this Convention and one of the younger members of the party, I feel that I voice the sentiment of the young men not only of Ontario, but of the Dominion, and not only those who have hitherto been in accord with the Liberal party, but of many who have hitherto been followers of the Conservative party, when

I say that we pledge our adherence and loyal support to the platform enunciated in this Convention. It has been charged that the young men are leaving the Liberal ranks because they believe in a progressive policy. I agree that the young men believe in a progressive policy and a progressive party. But for that very reason they will not desert a party whose star is ascending to join a party whose star is fast disappearing below the horizon. We believe in the reduction of the tariff, we believe in putting a stop to the corruption which has disgraced our country, we believe in conducting public affairs upon lines of economy, and for these reasons we support the Liberal party. Permit me one word more along this line. Our opponents seek to offset the disaffection in their own ranks by declaring that the Liberal party cannot succeed under its present leader. We are proud of the great men of the Liberal party in days that are gone. We enjoy with gratitude the privileges and liberties which they won for us. But I show no want of respect for the memory of those great men when I declare my belief that among the young Liberals of Ontario and of the Dominion at large, and among the old Liberals too, there is no name about which cluster such hopes and aspirations for the future of Canada as around the name of Laurier. No personality in the last thirty years has so impressed itself upon the thought and sentiment of the people, none has so won the hearts and united the sympathies of our young men as that of Wilfrid Laurier. And, on behalf of the young men of Ontario, I say to the young men of the other Provinces, but especially to those of the Province of Quebec, that we join with you, come what will, to fight with might and main by night and day for the principles enunciated in the platform adopted by this Convention, so that Wilfrid Laurier shall be given his rightful place as Premier of this great Dominion. And why do these sentiments possess us? Because we know we have a leader of unswerving honesty, of sterling integrity and of magnificent ability, and, whatever may be the belief of others, Wilfrid Laurier believes in Canada first, last and always. Whatever may have been the nationality of our ancestors, whether they came from sunny France, from the shores of England, Ireland or Scotland, we are willing to forget these things and to remember only that we are Canadians to the manor born, Canada is our home, our beloved country, and for Canada we will fight, and for her success and progress we will unitedly strive. One word or two upon the resolution before you. As Liberals we know that the Liberal party has always fought for the rights of the people and to secure to every citizen a voice in the government of the country. Our predecessors fought for representative government, for the ballot, for the extension of the franchise to the masses. They believed that the Government was for the people, not for those who from time to time might administer the affairs of the Government, and, as a party, we hold that it is the duty of the Government to make it as easy as possible for every citizen to cast his ballot, thereby declaring how, in his opinion, the country should be governed. The Franchise Act appears to have been framed on the opposite



principle, so far, at least, as Liberal voters are concerned, the Government taking good care that their own friends are on the list. For years the voters' lists made up in the municipalities of the different Provinces were used in Dominion elections. But the Dominion Government was unwilling to trust the people, apparently unwilling to have a free and honest expression of opinion on their policy and conduct, dreading, no doubt, the verdict which would be given, and it is to this that we owe the Franchise Act and the Gerrymander. The work of compiling the voters' lists was taken out of the hands of the local municipalities and put into the hands of the friends of the Government at an enormous expense to the country. The Liberal party does not ask that the conditions shall be made favorable to itself, but it does ask and demand just treatment and a fair field. If the policy adopted by the Liberal party does not meet the approval of the people, that party does not ask that that policy shall be adopted, or that its leaders shall be placed in power. They demand, however, that the people shall be allowed to express their opinion freely and that the dice shall not be loaded against them by means of partisan gerrymander and franchise acts. We have the evil effects of the Franchise Act exemplified here before us. We have Mr. Hyman elected honestly and fairly by the vote of the majority of the electors of the city of London, but because of the abuses to which the Act is subject, and because of the abuse of power by the Government, Mr. Hyman is denied his seat in the House, and a man who was not elected by the people, and who has no right to appear as a representative of the people, occupying that seat. It is a shame and a disgrace to representative institutions; it is a shame and a disgrace to this country, possessing, as we believe we do, the benefits of British liberty and British justice, and it shows how hollow is the cry of loyalty to British ideas raised by those who would excuse or palliate such measures. They distort the principles of justice, they seek to stifle a free expression of public opinion, while polluting and corrupting the channels through which public opinion is expressed. By the gerrymander of the constituencies and by the compilation and revision of the voters' lists by their own appointees they have taken the machinery of elections into their own hands. Around these acts of tyranny and these gross abuses of power they wrap the Old Flag and they raise the cry of treason against all who would question their proceedings or their right to rule. The Old Flag has been dragged down from the proud place it occupied in the heart of every Briton, dragged down to wrap around the corruption and dishonesty of a corrupt and dishonest administration, dragged into the mire of fierce political conflict; it has been prostituted to base and dishonorable party purposes by those who profess to be its especial guardians. And it is left to the Liberal party, which has always been loyal to what is true and best in the British system of government, to raise that flag out of the mire and unfurl it to the world as a symbol of their belief in the principles which that flag represents—freedom of trade, justice to all classes with privileges to none, an honest, economical and truly repre-



representative government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Let us maintain these principles for Canada and we shall see the same beneficial results that have followed their adoption in England. We denounce as a fraud the Franchise Act because, as before stated, we believe the channel through which the public voice is expressed should be free and untrammelled, unpolluted and uncorrupted, that the duty of the Government is, to make it as easy as possible for every citizen to cast his ballot and that public opinion should not be distorted and perverted by partisan voters' lists. Therefore we ask you to adopt this resolution in condemnation of the policy that has been pursued by the Conservative administration on this question.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### EIGHTH RESOLUTION—THE GERRYMANDER.

The CHAIRMAN :—I have now pleasure in calling upon Mr. Mulock to move the next resolution.

Mr. WM. MULOCK, M.P., North York :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I promise you one thing, that I shall be entitled to your approbation for the brevity of my remarks. I have to present to you a resolution of the most important character, for there is no political question more important than that of providing proper means of expressing on the floor of Parliament the opinion of the people. In an audience such as this, composed wholly of Liberals, it is not necessary to advance arguments to prove that the opinions of the people should be properly voiced in Parliament. Public opinion is not expressed ; it is intercepted on its way to Parliament. The Gerrymander Act, which the resolution in my hand proposes to condemn, endeavored to prevent public opinion having its due effect in the administration of public affairs, and, by presenting this resolution, I ask you to pass your opinion upon that subject. I may say that the original Gerrymander Act was passed in 1882, and some people might think that the present Government is not in any way responsible for it. But, in 1892, the Government of the day was called upon under the constitution to rearrange the seats and we asked them in Parliament to undo the crime of 1882, but which claim for justice was denied. Refusing to undo that wrong the Government repeated it by the Act of 1892. After ten years they re-affirmed that Act, and therefore they took the full responsibility of that treasonable measure designed to defeat the will of the people of Canada. There is nothing to be found like it in the heavens above or in the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth. It is a Yankee institution, a Yankee invention which the N. P. does not keep out. These men boast of their admiration for British institutions. But there is nothing like this gerrymander to be found in British politics. If there is one thing a Briton is proud of it is a fair and manly fight. But the Ottawa Government have adopted a system of warfare not recognized even in the

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WILLIAM MULOCK, ESQ., M.P.  
NORTH YORK, ONTARIO—Chairman, Committee on Printing and Literature.



prize ring where, I understand, it is a rule that there shall be no striking below the belt. However, I must remember my promise and not keep you longer, therefore I move :—

That by the Gerrymander Acts, the electoral divisions for the return of members to the House of Commons have been so made as to prevent a fair expression of the opinion of the country at the general elections, and to secure to the party now in power a strength out of all proportion greater than the number of electors supporting them would warrant To put an end to this abuse, to make the House of Commons a fair exponent of public opinion, and to preserve the historic continuity of counties, it is desirable that in the formation of electoral divisions, county boundaries should be preserved and that in no case parts of different counties should be put in one electoral division.

Mr. G. G. KING, ex-M.P., Queen's N. B. :—I do not flatter myself that I have been selected to second this resolution on account of my fitness to discharge that duty. I think I have been selected because I happen to be, I may say, one of the most prominent victims of Tory fraud in connection with the administration of the election laws. So far as the resolution in your hands is concerned, Mr. Chairman, and so far as it refers to my Province, I do not know that it is necessary for me to make any extended remark. It is true that the Gerrymander, as applied in Ontario and Quebec, has not been applied in the same sense in the Province of New Brunswick. But it is equally true that we have felt the injustice that is being done to us under the Redistribution Act placed upon the statute book last session. I am not here to charge to the Gerrymander Act the evil that I complain of, but, if I had time, I could convince this intelligent audience that we have even greater evils to complain of. You have had your counties cut and carved in order to change the representation, but we have been robbed of our representation. We are to be deprived of two of our representatives. To-day in the Parliament of Canada, the Liberals are represented by Mr. Gillmor, who honored you with a speech last night, and Mr. Colter, who, I regret to say, is absent from this Convention in consequence of an injury received a few days ago. But while our representation in Parliament is so small as it is, we have in this building now, even at this late hour, four score true and tried men from the Province of New Brunswick who have come all the way here to declare their approval of the platform of the Liberal party. I do not blame the Government for putting in force the constitution and depriving us of our representation, but I do blame the Government for carrying out such a policy as to make it necessary to reduce the number of our representatives in Parliament. Within the decade there has been an actual decrease of population in the Province of New Brunswick. In the Province of New Brunswick in the last ten years, as shown by the census, our increase, I believe, has been sixty-one, and I may tell you that those forming that increase are all in the lunatic asylum, for that is exactly the increase in the number of lunatics in the Province in that time. The census shows that in the county I had the honor to represent, for which I was elected five times, but had the pleasure of sitting as its representative only three times, the population has

actually decreased by 2,000, and besides, we have lost 2,000 more of our natural increase. What I say of that county applies to other counties as well. I am glad to know that the representatives of the Liberal party assembled at this Convention coming from all parts of Canada have agreed upon a policy which, I believe, in the near future the country will gladly adopt. And I believe that in ten years after the adoption of that policy, instead of having our representation further cut down, we shall come up to Ottawa and claim our increased representation again. I thank you for the kind attention you have shown and I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Mr. R. J. DOWDALL, Almonte, Ont. :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : You have listened patiently to so very many speeches to-night that it would be out of place for me to speak at length. I appreciate the honor of having been asked to say a few words in support of this resolution, and that for several reasons. Perhaps the reason that caused me to be selected is that I am one of those who suffered from this very Act. In North Lanark, which, as you know, adjoins the county in which this city stands, I had the misfortune to be defeated, the constituency having been craftily gerrymandered. North Lanark was gerrymandered by having added to it two Conservative townships from Carleton. The result has been much more serious than merely the defeat of Liberal candidates in the North Riding of Lanark, because this Government has more than once sent to Parliament as representative a gentleman whose views were opposed by the majority of the electors in the constituency as properly constituted. The question before us scarcely calls for serious argument. The wrong is one which our opponents cannot even attempt to justify. They will say, of course, that it is necessary there should be a redistribution of seats ; and this is perfectly true on the ground that it is well to equalize the numbers in the several constituencies to effect representation by population. But this is no justification whatever for the Act which the present resolution condemns. As has been pointed out by the mover of the resolution, there is no parallel in England for such an Act, notwithstanding that those who favor such legislation never tire of proclaiming their loyalty to British institutions and adherence to British precedent, and are continually charging us with disloyalty. I should not belong to the Liberal party if I believed they were disloyal, if they were not loyal to the Mother Country and to Canada. We know that these charges of disloyalty are unfounded and made by desperate men. In the last election, the main issue was tariff question, protection versus freer trade relations between our United States and other countries. It was found by our opponents that they had no logical standing ground. The leader of their party saw that it was not possible to face the people squarely in defence of the protective policy, for the people had begun to pronounce that policy a delusion and a snare. At this critical moment a herring was drawn across the trail and the cry was raised that we were a disloyal party, that we were not true to our country and were anxious to become a portion of the United States.

We have been here deliberating upon the questions before the country defining the platform of our party, and throughout the discussion nothing has impressed me more than the enthusiastic devotion to Canada and loyalty to the Mother Land which have been manifested in every way. This is well for the cause of truth and of our party. In the planks of our platform as against the platform of our opponents, we have the better side of the case. They are in the position of a man of whom I once heard who was plaintiff in a case at law. He had a bad case, but was swearing it through. Finally the judge, who understood very well that he was not stating the facts, asked him if he could not tell the truth when under oath. His answer was, "Yes, I could, but my lawyer tells me that if I do I shall lose my case." We know how they have tried to evade public investigation, and so far as public questions are concerned we challenge them to discussion before the people. Not only have we the right side in the political issues, but we have leaders of whom we are justly proud. We have here, besides the esteemed chief of our party, Premiers from several Provinces who are well able to look after the interests of the party in those Provinces. Let me say in conclusion that if we keep at work and on our guard the signs are that the next general elections will bring victory to our cause and prosperity to the country.

Dr. J. LANCOT, Montreal (Translation):—Mr. President: Before proceeding with the remarks which I shall make in seconding the resolution on the Gerrymander Act, I beg to express my appreciation of the honor which is conferred upon me in asking me to take part in the proceedings of this great Liberal Convention. Some years ago, at a time when I had greater personal expectations, I had made up my mind not to come to Ottawa unless I was sent by my county as its representative in Parliament. Unfortunately circumstances have turned against me, and I frankly admit that I owe to my defeat the honor of being here to-day and of addressing you as the official delegate of my county. But as says the French proverb: "A quelque chose malheur est bon." Now, Mr. Chairman, in speaking to the present motion and in enumerating the causes which have kept the Liberal party out of power, you will clearly find out why many staunch Liberals like myself were not elected at the last elections. Is it not an undeniable fact that the Liberal platform has been in the past and is at the present time the most favorable for the peace, prosperity and welfare of our beloved country? Is it not another undeniable fact that the Liberal party has for chief and leader one of the greatest men Canada has ever produced, a man whose name is a synonym for integrity, uprightness, honesty and eloquence, a man of whom any nation on earth would be proud? And are not the friends of our esteemed leader the best men in the land? I need not mention their names; you have heard nearly all with interest and pleasure during this Convention. Furthermore, outside of the House of Commons, is not the Liberal party supported by the best and most popular provincial political men of Confederation? The Mowats, the Fieldings, the Blairs, the Peters and their lieutenants who would be

the glory and the pride of any party, are not they the popular and Liberal leaders of their several Provinces whose affairs they have administered with the greatest benefit to the people, but by the will of the great Liberal party of Canada. Now, then, how is it that notwithstanding good principles and good men on the Liberal side, the administration of our country remains under the ban of Tory rule? Let me tell you, Gentlemen, what every one of you know as well as I do. The cause of the Tory rule in our Dominion affairs rests on three different bases: First, on corruption and bribery with the money furnished by Government contractors and monopolists; second, on the Franchise Law which is intended to give the Tories the advantages at the polls; third, on the Gerrymander Act which has transformed Liberal constituencies into Conservative ones, and which has also rendered victory certain for our opponents in counties, which but for those things would be doubtful counties. These are, as I claim, the three columns on which rest the foundations of Tory rule. But the most rotten of the three is probably the Gerrymander Act. It is certainly the most iniquitous, absurd and ridiculous in the hands of our Conservative friends who have entirely changed the electoral map of Canada for the sole benefit of party ascendancy, without consulting the interest of the people or their equitable and just representation. What do the Conservatives care about justice or equity? They have gained seats in Parliament by their gerrymandering. The Tory party is safe, perish the country! What do they care about being ridiculed for making the most arbitrary lines between one county and another? They rule the country according to their caprice, according to considerations of their own interest. Sometimes they have found a Tory nest at a long distance, but this Tory nest was necessary to reinforce a weak point in a far off constituency, immediately they have gone for it. They don't care for mountains, streams of water or long distance. They wanted that reinforcement, they went for it, that is all. By these means they keep the power and enjoy its luxuries with their friends. Tory rule in this country is a robbery and the greatest denial of justice. The rights of the people are trodden under foot, their immunities disregarded and the privileges established by justice and tradition exist no more. Now, Mr. Chairman, this state of things cannot last for ever. The people of Canada must awaken to a sense of duty and justice, and the time is not far distant when the Liberal party will assume the task of rendering straight what the Conservatives have made so crooked. The Liberals do not seek power for its luxuries and its enjoyments, but for the sake of making our country great and peaceful and its people prosperous and happy, I therefore second the motion.

Mr. JAMES McMULLEN, M P., North Wellington:—I am not going to attempt to discuss the subject at this late hour. If any man has had to fight against an attempt at gerrymandering, I am that man. In 1882 they gerrymandered me and made my riding run into three counties. And after all we beat them. And we beat them in 1887 and in 1891. Although they gerrymandered North Wellington so as to make it return a

Tory, they did more than that. They put out of North Perth one township in order to beat me and the result of that was that they did not beat me and we won North Perth. Instead of the gerrymander working so as to give the Tories two ridings, we have the two ridings and they have none. I have been greatly rejoiced at the gathering here in response to the call of Mr. Laurier. I think he has a right to be the proudest man in the Dominion of Canada to night. His call to his friends to assemble and discuss the platform of the party has been responded to by representative men from every part of the Dominion. And you have done your work solidly and well. The Tories will try to misrepresent what you have done. They have carried this country three times by means of humbug. In 1887 Sir Charles Tupper said that if we passed the iron duties which he introduced we should have 200,000 miners in this country and our iron mountains were to be honeycombed. He persuaded his followers to support him and the iron duties went into effect. Where are the iron mines? Where are the blast furnaces? What he told us was the purest humbug and now he is living in London on \$17,000 a year at the expense of the people he has gulled. Now, I can tell you we are going to have another gigantic humbug. They are going to be worse cornered this time than ever before and they will rise equal to the occasion and get up the greatest humbug yet. They will come down with a revision of the tariff that will give to all the different classes that are clamoring about the injurious effect of the N.P., almost whatever they want, and they will say: Now aren't you going to support us for what we have done? But, as has been truly said by Mr. Emmerson, they will wear our clothes as overalls and, when the elections are over, they will put off their overalls and appear again in their Tory clothing as the obedient servants of the manufacturers, and the people will be back in the same old hole where they have been for fifteen years. Like the sow and her wallowing, the Tories will get back into the mire of protection and corruption. I am not going to detain you at this late hour (Ories of "Go on.") I am rejoiced to be with you and would like to talk to you by the hour. But that would not be right. I can only say to you: Go back to your homes determined that no trick of the Tory Government shall prevent their being turned out of office and men put in in their places who will administer the affairs of this country honestly and properly.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### NINTH RESOLUTION—SENATE REFORM.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING:—One resolution remains, one of great importance, concerning which, I am informed, there will be some debate, and therefore I invite you all to remain. But, with the permission of the meeting, I would like, as Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, to make a further report on one resolution, which, if satisfactory, may be adopted at once, but otherwise might be laid over in order that the other debate may not be delayed. You will remember that when I presented



the first report I stated that there were some resolutions in the hands of the Committee which they had not had an opportunity of deliberating upon. I am glad to say that in most cases these resolutions dealt with questions which had been covered by resolutions previously adopted, making it unnecessary to report anything further concerning them. There was one question, however, which had not been dealt with, the question of the Senate, and a resolution was placed in my hands to report. It was proposed that this resolution should be moved by Hon. R. W. Scott, of Ottawa, and seconded by Hon. A. G. Blair. This is the report :

The present constitution of the Senate is inconsistent with the Federal principle in our system of government and is in other respects defective, as it makes the Senate independent of the people and uncontrolled by the public opinion of the country, and should be so amended as to bring it into harmony with the principles of popular government.

Hon. R. W. SCOTT, Ottawa :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : It has been suggested to me that I would best meet the wishes of this assembly if I allowed this resolution to go to the Convention without lengthened remarks, as there is a very important resolution to come up on which there may be differences of opinion that will cause debate. I therefore bow to the suggestion and submit the resolution to you. It would not require any support at my hands in any case, for I think the verdict of the Liberal party has been given on several occasions with reference to the constitution of the Senate.

Hon. A. G. Blair seconded the resolution.  
The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### TENTH RESOLUTION—PROHIBITION PLEBISCITE.

The CHAIRMAN :—Mr. S. A. Fisher, ex-M.P. for Brome, Quebec will present the next resolution.

Mr. FISHER :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : At this late hour the only thing that can justify me in asking your attention for a few moments is the importance of the question I am going to bring before the Convention. It has been the proud boast of the Liberal party, that its principles are those which make for good and right in the country. It is in consequence of this that we find in the ranks of the Liberal party the best elements of the moral, intelligent and religious people of the land. It is in consequence of this that the young men of the country who wish to do their duty manfully and well are flocking to the Liberal standard. Therefore, I am glad to say, I am going to ask this Convention to pass a resolution which is in the direction of one of these great causes of good in the land—a resolution on the question of Temperance. It is one of the greatest satisfactions of my political career, that when, as a young man, I acquired the franchise in the Dominion of Canada, the first occasion which I was called upon to exercise it was when the question of prohibition or license was before the people and that I cast my vote in favor of Local Option. At that time Local Option was the cry of the temperance people and we had the Dunkin Act in force in this country. Afterwards the

honorable gentleman who has just spoken to you (Hon. Mr. Scott) introduced in the Senate the Act which bears his name and which was the hope of the temperance people for many years. But temperance sentiment now asks for something more than Local Option. I am glad, therefore, that the great party to which I belong, with which I have worked is prepared to take a stand upon the temperance question, and to declare in its platform in favor of a step in the right direction upon this subject. I understand that this is the first time a great political party in this country has ever faced this question in a fair and true spirit. I am not aware that any political party in this country has ever declared itself squarely upon this question. I was aware that the House of Commons itself passed a resolution to the effect that when the country was ripe Parliament should enact a prohibition law. It is some time since that was passed. The Tory party has been long in power but has not taken any steps to obtain the vote of the country upon this question. It is true, as you know, that Finance Minister Foster—and when I speak his name, I have to look back to the first years when he and I were in Parliament, when he was looked upon as a temperance champion. I regret to say that that honorable gentleman on the floor of Parliament has told the country that he, one of the leaders of the Tory party, only advocated Temperance “in a moment of weakness,” and that when he came to his sober senses—if we may call them sober senses—he went back on that record. The Tory party has not done justice in favor of Temperance, it has only appointed a royal commission to go about the country and find out something, but as Mr. Laurier said, we have all the information necessary of the kind that a royal commission can collect. They have put off the question; they have shunted it, and have not taken steps to find out the attitude of the country upon this question. I am glad to be here to ask this Liberal Convention to take a step which will bring about an opportunity for the people to express themselves upon this question. We know that in three of the Provinces the Liberal Governments of those Provinces have brought about local or provincial plebiscites, thus giving the temperance people the opportunity to show what they believe to be the truth that the temperance sentiment of this country is strong enough to enforce a prohibition law if it is given us. I propose to read the resolution which will bring about this result and which pledges the Liberal party, if returned to power, to give the people of Canada an opportunity to express their views upon this question, and the Government in power must necessarily carry out the expressed will of the people. There is no doubt that this is what the Liberal party would do, for we know their pledges can be trusted. This is the resolution:—

That whereas public attention is at present much directed to the consideration of the admittedly great evils of intemperance, it is desirable that the mind of the people should be clearly ascertained on the question of Prohibition by means of a Dominion plebiscite.

This will bring the question clearly before the people of Canada and will enable the Government to know just what the sentiment of the country is, and I have enough confidence in the people to believe that the

result will be so pronounced that the Legislature and Government will be only too glad to meet the wishes of the people and that we shall be able to get a law of total prohibition.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. B. Rogers, of Alberton, Prince Edward Island.

(Cries of "Carried, carried.")

Hon. T. W. ANGLIN, Toronto :—It is very much to be regretted that, having agreed so unanimously and thoroughly upon all the other questions that have been submitted to us for our consideration, having felt it at once our pleasure and our duty to approve of every other resolution that had been adopted by the Committee on Resolutions, we are now forced to deal with a question on which there must be much difference of opinion. Looking at this resolution in the light of mere expediency, looking at it from the standpoint of a Liberal desirous of seeing the success of the Liberal party at the next election thoroughly assured, believing that with such a platform as we have already adopted we must achieve success, I must regret that a matter which will create much difference of opinion should be thus introduced. It is, in my opinion, of very great importance that the Liberal party of the Dominion of Canada should not present itself to the people of Canada as a prohibitory-law party. The adoption of this resolution will have no other effect than to present it in that light, should it be adopted without objection. It may be said, indeed, that this resolution only asks for a plebiscite. But what do we mean when we ask for a plebiscite if we are in earnest? Is it not that we desire to know what the opinion of the people is on this question; that we desire to ascertain their opinion in a particular way, and that we will do all in our power to give effect to their decision as thus ascertained? It may be that not one-half of the adult male population will vote. Nevertheless, should a majority be obtained at the polls when this question is submitted, the friends of Prohibition will be in a position to call upon the Liberal party to follow up their resolution logically by assisting in the passage and enforcement of a prohibitory liquor law. There are many of us who do not believe Prohibition to be the best means of promoting temperance. I am one of these. I opposed Prohibition thirty-five years ago, and I feel to day as strongly as I did then that I am as true a friend of the temperance cause as those who have forced this resolution upon the Committee, and ten thousand times a better friend of the Liberal party and the Liberal cause. If this resolution be passed now by a mere fragment of this great Convention whose members have so unanimously adopted the other resolutions, I and those who agree with me must refuse to be bound by it. On the part of those who agree with me in thinking that Prohibition is not the best way of promoting temperance, I protest against the passing of this particular resolution at this stage of the proceedings and under such circumstances. And let me be frank and say that, even if every member of the Convention were in his place and this resolution were carried by a four-fifths vote, I must still

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W. D. BALFOUR, ESQ., M.P.P.,  
SOUTH ESSEX, ONTARIO—Assistant-Secretary of the Convention.



refuse to sacrifice my conscientious convictions, I must continue to act as I have acted upon this question for thirty-five years. I am opposed to Prohibition for reasons higher than those of expediency. No set of men have the right, because they happen to be a majority, to prescribe what other men shall or shall not eat or drink or wear, and no legislature has a right to prohibit, under penalties, that which is not evil or criminal or sinful in itself. This is not the time or place to discuss the temperance question, I have simply come forward to protest, as one member of the Liberal party, against this resolution being adopted as a plank of the Liberal platform, because it would bind us to a plebiscite and, if a majority in favor of Prohibition were obtained by any means whatever, to become advocates of a prohibitory liquor law. I do not believe a prohibitory liquor law would be beneficial to this country; I do not believe it would benefit the cause of temperance. I saw a prohibitory liquor law in operation some thirty-five years ago in the Province of New Brunswick. That law produced more drunkennes than we ever had before. There were more drunkards' deaths during the time that law was in existence than at any other period in the history of the Province. Confusion and tumult, disturbance and riot prevailed everywhere. The people were set one against the other, and the administration of the law was paralyzed. The Governor exercised his prerogative—a great historical fact in the annals of that country—dismissed the Government, who refused to submit the question to the people, and, having formed another Government, dissolved the Legislature. Of forty-one members then elected, forty were pledged to vote for the repeal of the prohibitory law. Were such a law passed by the Dominion Parliament, and were an earnest persistent effort made to enforce it, the effects must be as mischievous throughout Canada as they were in New Brunswick. I shall not ask that the question be put to the meeting. We are now but a fragment of the Convention. But I do protest, on behalf of those who agree with me, and I shall continue to protest against the adoption of that resolution as a plank in the Liberal platform.

Mr. F. S. SPENCE, Toronto:—Very brief shall be the remarks I have to make upon this question, Mr. Chairman. There are thousands of men to-day who vote with the Liberal party simply because of the high stand the members of that party take upon moral questions. This great Convention has been a practical lesson in practical temperance. This representative gathering, the greatest of the kind the Dominion ever saw, is as orderly and sober as if it had been a conference of clergymen or prohibitionists. We all agree with the words that have been spoken about the pride we take in the grand men who are and have been our leaders. But, on the other hand, our leaders have a right to be proud of the grand army of men they lead. We are proud of the stand the Liberal party has taken in the temperance question in days gone by. We are thankful for the Scott Act, and we can remember the time, and never shall we forget it, when the Liberal party in Ontario, represented by the Ontario

Government, fought the battle of Scott Act enforcement when the Conservative Government, with Orders in Council and in every other way, were striving to break it down. That Ontario Legislature has to-day given us the privilege we are asking here of ascertaining whether or not the people are in favor of the suppression of the liquor traffic. We are thankful for that, knowing, as Sir Oliver Mowat has told us, that the liquor traffic is the cause of seventy-five per cent. of the evils that afflict this country of ours. We know that the liquor traffic is the most debauching agency in politics to-day. You know that there have been placed in the high position of cabinet ministers, men whose sole qualification for office was that they had acquired wealth in making beer or selling whiskey. I also have an objection to the resolution, but before stating it I would like to put the Dominion Alliance right before this Convention on a point upon which otherwise their action might be misconstrued. I think our honored leader a little misrepresented us, probably from misunderstanding us. I was afraid that from what he said you would be led to think that we endorsed the farce of the Prohibition Commission. We have never done anything of that sort. The Convention that met in Ottawa was simply a caucus of Prohibitionists who were members of the House of Commons, and they decided not to bring in a prohibition resolution that session, simply because they knew there was no use in trying to pass such a resolution pending the report of the Commission. My objection to the resolution is that it does not go far enough. All through the length and breadth of the land people are looking for the deliverance of the Convention upon this subject, and there will be disappointment that we have not spoken out in stronger terms in reference to this matter. What need have we of a plebiscite in order to ascertain public opinion? Ontario is taking her plebiscite; so is Prince Edward Island; Manitoba has taken hers. There is not a liquor license in Nova Scotia outside the city and county of Halifax. The Province of New Brunswick has memorialized the Dominion Parliament for total Prohibition. All these signs indicate that public opinion is ripe for Prohibition, and everywhere Prohibitionists will be disappointed that you have not gone far enough in the right direction. We can see no reason why you should stop short at this resolution. Nevertheless I think a plebiscite will do good; great good as clearly explained by Mr. Fisher. It will give us the opportunity of an educating campaign of great value to this country. While I am sorry the Liberal party does not do better than this, we must do with them as we do with our candidates; we must judge you by your past record rather than by any direct pledges you make. You are not doing much for us in the way of election promises. But as attention has been called to the fact that the Conservatives are not remarkable for carrying out their promises, let us hope that, as you promise so little, you will carry out more than you have promised. Find out the state of public opinion and then give us a law such as the sentiment of the country will demand, which I believe will be one for the total suppression of the liquor traffic.

Mr. W. T. KERR, Cobourg:—I have a question to ask. Mr. Anglin represents the opinion that is opposed to Prohibition in toto; Mr. Spence represents the opinion in favor of absolute Prohibition. But if this resolution is defeated we desire to know whether it is opposed by Prohibitionists, or by those who oppose Prohibition, or by a union of the two. I desire to know if Mr. Spence is opposed to the resolution.

Mr. SPENCE:—Mr. Anglin objects to this resolution because it goes too far; I object to it because it does not go far enough. If I can't get an ell I will take an inch. I would rather have that resolution than nothing at all.

Mr. H. A. McKEOWN, St. John, N.B.:—I shall just be a moment in speaking to this resolution. It has often been said that wisdom lies between the two extremes, and it may be that between the extreme views of Mr. Spence on the one hand and of Mr. Anglin on the other, true wisdom for this Convention may be found. The distinguished Nova Scotian who spoke early in the evening told us that in these days the people must rule. As soon as the people of this country want Prohibition some party will give it to them. And if the Liberal party, as the Liberals should, represent the views of the people, the Liberal party will give the people Prohibition when they want it. Now, this resolution does not contemplate, as Mr. Anglin seemed to think it does, the enactment of a prohibition law at the dictation of a small vote of the people. When the question comes up under the plebiscite, I think the true friends of temperance would see to it that there was a fair majority of all the people of this country in favor of prohibition or they would not call for the passing of a law to that effect. The temperance people of this country are a practical people, and look at things in a practical way. We must be prepared to face this issue. Some Provinces might be overwhelmingly for prohibition, others might be the other way. Then, Sir, I consider that it would not be a problem impossible of solution or impossible to the statesmanship and genius of the Liberal party of this country to make such an amendment to the constitution as would enable us to have Prohibition Provinces in this Dominion, in the same way as they have Prohibition States in the American Union. All the objections that can be urged against Prohibition can be fought out when the question comes to be taken on a plebiscite. All the Committee asks of the Convention here assembled is to declare in favor of the will of the people being expressed upon this subject, and the Liberal party will have lost its Liberalism if it is not willing to give the people what they want. This resolution does not bind us to vote in any particular way in the plebiscite. For my part I am quite willing that the other members of the Liberal party should have the same freedom of thought and action that I demand for myself. When this question comes to be tried by the plebiscite it ought not to put one section of any party against the other. There are, no doubt, within the ranks of the Conservative party as many prohibitionists as there are among the Liberals. There are men in both parties



who just as honestly do not believe in prohibition at all. If necessary that Prohibition be carried, it may be that it will split the old parties from centre to circumference. If so, it will be time enough when that difficulty arises to consider the disintegrating forces to which allusion has been made. But it will certainly be an advancement along the line of Liberal ideas to say to the people: We are willing to allow you to express your opinion. And then if we do not take the matter up a new party will have to be formed.

The resolution was then put and carried by an overwhelming majority.

#### A VOTE OF THANKS.

The CHAIRMAN:—There are still one or two resolutions which I am sure you will be glad to hear and I will ask you, therefore, to remain. Probably during the progress of our Convention nearly all the members now present have had an opportunity of meeting our admired leader, Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, for he has been most assiduous in his effort to meet his friends. Still, it is possible that some have not had the opportunity of meeting him, and therefore I am glad to say that at the close of the meeting, however late it may be, Mr. Laurier will remain and will be delighted to meet any of the delegates he has not already had the pleasure of meeting.

Mr. WILLIAM GIBSON, M.P. for Lincoln:—The resolution placed in my hands is one which I am sure will meet the approval of every gentleman who has come to this Convention. It is as follows:—

Resolved, that this Convention cannot separate without expressing deep appreciation of the kindness that they have received from the President, Alex. McLean; the Honorary Secretary, H. A. Bate, and the members of the Ottawa Reform Association and the *Ottawa Free Press* and *Le Canada*. The general arrangements for the holding of the Convention have been beyond praise, and in the name of the Liberal party of this Dominion we sincerely thank the Reform Association of Ottawa and numerous other citizens of the Capital who have contributed in so marked a degree to the comfort of the delegates.

Early in the session of 1893 Mr. H. A. Bate came as a bright star in a dark sky, visiting a few of us and afterwards invited us to meet the leading Liberals of Ottawa. Until then I was under the impression that there were no Liberals in this city, but from what I have seen since I am convinced that, were it not for the Civil Service vote, this fine city of Ottawa would return a Liberal to the Dominion Parliament as well as in the Provincial House. We are deeply indebted to Mr. McLean and our other Liberal friends in Ottawa for their untiring energy and for the care, kindness and courtesy shown the delegates, for the beautiful and appropriate decorations displayed at this grand and magnificent gathering, and I am sure you will all join me in giving especial praise to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Harry Bate.

Mr. FRANCOIS LANGELE, M.P. for Quebec Centre :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I shall not make a speech but shall confine myself to saying that I agree with Mr. Gibson and that I am very glad to second the motion.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

#### CONFIDENCE IN THE LEADER.

Mr. JOHN WHYTE, Megantic, Que. :—I shall first read the the resolution placed in my hand and shall then say but a few words in support of it, for this audience is tired after having had so much eloquence expended upon it :

That this Convention desires to express its entire confidence in the leadership of the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier and its admiration of his brilliant eloquence, his unflinching personal qualities and his broad and statesmanlike utterances upon the public questions of the day.

At the conclusion of the resolution the audience rose and cheered heartily and sang, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

The CHAIRMAN :—Gentlemen : I am glad to hear the music, but our friend Mr. White has not finished what he had to say.

Mr. WHYTE :—It perhaps would have been well to end with the music, but there are one or two words I wish to say before I sit down. I am something like a Highlander with whom I am well acquainted, at a meeting of Presbytery. A motion was to come up in which he was very much interested, but before he arrived the motion was carried and that order of business completed. But he had made up his mind to say a few words. When he rose to speak the Moderator told him that the question was disposed of and there was no need of any person saying any more about it. His answer was, "She'll haf a few words to say, and she'll say them before she'll sit down." I confess that when I came to this meeting I had some doubts and fears as to what would be the result of it. I had my doubts and fears about so many Liberals coming together, because we all know that they are men who have their own views upon public questions and are not afraid to express them. But such a policy has been adopted as has kept you like one man during this meeting. You have to meet a Government that has taken advantage of its position to keep itself in power for years. There is only one way to correct the evils under which the country suffers, and that is by placing in power a Government headed by our great and brilliant leader, Mr. Laurier. Looking at this banner I see the names of noble leaders who have gone before, Names that are inscribed high in the honor roll of Canada's history. Papineau hastened if he did not altogether give us the constitution we now enjoy. Baldwin and Lafontaine gave us the free municipal institutions of which we are so proud. Brown and Dorion frustrated the attempt to establish a state church in Canada. Mackenzie came in between two of the most corrupt administrations that ever ruled over the people, and he showed that it was possible to govern the Dominion of Canada in a wise and economical manner. If every one who has come to this Convention

will show as much zeal and enthusiasm in his constituency when he goes home as did these men, you will put Mr. Laurier in a position to carry out the work of Liberalism, so that when the history of our time is written his name also may be inscribed upon the roll of the noble leaders of our party. I should have liked to say a few words of his endearing qualities, for well I know them. We live in adjacent counties and I could tell you many things about him were it not that I feel that I must not take up your time at this late hour. I may, however, give you one reminiscence illustrating his generous heart. It is to me a very sweet recollection. I was a candidate in Megantic in 1886, having been the local member previous to that time. I was defeated, but by means of such gross corruption that I decided to contest the seat. My opponent was unseated because the corruption proven was so gross that even, though the judges were against me and in favor of him, they could not but decide against him. But at the same time they disqualified me. I did not leave the matter there, however. True, the decision had been against me and the law gave me no appeal at that time. Mr. Mercier was in power and he amended the law so as to allow an appeal and I went before the higher court, and the judgment was reversed so far as I was concerned. But this is the point I wish to mention. Mr. Laurier had some idea in advance, though I had not, that I was to be disqualified, and he came to Quebec to keep me in countenance while judgment was being passed upon me. He came into court and sat alongside of me while judgment was being pronounced, in order to show the judges that they were not disgracing me but that they were disgracing themselves and the Canadian bench by such a judgment. I have never forgotten that, and I never shall, for it gave me such an impression as nothing else could of the generous qualities of the noble leader of the Liberal party. I would like to have given quotations from some of his speeches in order to show you the nature of the man, but I must not do so now. With such a leader, if when we go before the people we do not carry the election, it will be because the Liberal party has not done its duty. We have Laurier for our leader, we have reciprocity, tariff reform, economical and honest government for our platform, and if we cannot win with these we need never hope that the Liberal party will succeed in the Dominion of Canada.

Mr. D. M. DECHENE, M.P.P., L'Islet, seconded the resolution in a short speech in the French language.

The CHAIRMAN:—So far as I know this is the last resolution to be put to the meeting and there can be no happier one with which to conclude the Convention than one which will call for a response from our esteemed and honored leader. Those who are minded that this resolution shall pass will please signify their assent by rising.

The resolution was carried unanimously by a standing vote amidst enthusiastic applause.

Mr. LAURIER:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Once more ere we part I must tender you my thanks, my very hearty thanks, for the numberless acts of kindness with which you have overwhelmed me on this occasion.

I had hoped from the first that this Convention would be a success. Still, while hoping, I was not without doubt. In fact I may say I was tossed between hopes and doubts, but in my most sanguine moments I never anticipated the success it has turned out to be. It has surpassed all my expectations, and I believe all the expectations of my most sanguine friends. I owe you thanks, Gentlemen, thanks to all. I cannot thank you each personally, but let me take this opportunity of tendering thanks more especially to the leaders from the several Provinces who have helped us in this Convention, first and foremost, to our old friend Sir Oliver Mowat; next to our young, active and able friend, Mr. Fielding, of Nova Scotia; to Premier Blair, to Premier Peters, and last but not least, to my good friend, Hon. Mr. Joly. You have been, Gentlemen, altogether too kind to me. You have, in the kindness of your hearts, attributed to me a character and traits I do not claim to have. Were I as good and great as you have described me in your speeches I would have reason to feel proud, and I do not feel proud at all. I would feel proud if under my leadership the Liberals had won. The Liberals have once gone to the country since I took the reins of power. Did I say "power"?—

A delegate—Prophetic.

MR. LAURIER:—Since I took the lead, and we lost. Those around me in the House of Commons know full well that it was with the greatest possible reluctance I accepted the duties on the withdrawal of Mr. Blake from the leadership. I did not want the position. I, for many reasons into which it is not proper for me to enter at this moment, would have preferred to serve in the ranks of the party, as I had done in the past, and it was my hope that the health of Mr. Blake would be restored, and that before many months he would come back to the position which his great talents and many fine qualities fitted him for. Unfortunately our expectations were not realized. Mr. Blake, for reasons of his own, could not or would not resume the leadership. Since that time I have been discharging the duties to the best of my ability, but I do not claim for myself the credit of whatever measure of success we have obtained. I attribute it to the able lieutenants by whom I am surrounded in the House. I give the full share of praise and of merit to our friend, Sir Richard Cartwright, a man whose mental qualities are well known to you all, but whose qualities of heart are well known to me also; to our friend, Mr. Mills, who knows everything, who has read everything—and I can tell you, in the position I occupy, it is always pleasant, instead of having to go to the library for books, to turn to Mr. Mills for the knowledge required; to our friend, Mr. Davies, a brave of the brave, a man who is ready whenever the call of duty comes; to our friend, Mr. Charlton, who, on questions of trade and commerce, has more theoretical and practical knowledge than any man in the House; to our friend, Mr. Paterson, who is a power whenever he chooses to be a power; to our friend Mr. Mulock, who, though young in the House, is already one of the most effective debaters we have; to our friend Mr. Edgar, whose qualities are well known to you.

Well, gentlemen, I will stop here, because if I go on I shall have to name the whole Liberal party in the House. In the last election we were defeated. We are on the eve of another election, and, if I am not mistaken the result may be different. But let me tell you this, that though we hope for victory, still, you know that victory does not always come to those who expect it. Let me tell you that, whatever may be the result of the next election, even if it be defeat, I will never know what discouragement is. We are here to fight, and fight we will until these principles of truth and justice we have proclaimed to-day have won. It may be that it will not be the first time. You know that to politicians, as to others, very often reverses come when victory is expected, but let us say that whatever be the result of the next election, if we do not triumph we will go on fighting to the end. Gentlemen, as you know I have the honor to be of French origin, and I am proud of my origin. They say the French are a fickle race, but I do not pretend to be French in that respect. I claim something of the British tenacity and in matters of importance when my mind is made up I never vary in it, and my mind is made up that we shall fight this battle; and I can only repeat: "Let every man be at his post and every man do his duty."

The National Anthem was sung and the Convention adjourned.

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# COMMITTEES OF THE CONVENTION.

## PRELIMINARY COMMITTEES.

### GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS.—James Sutherland, M.P., *Chairman*.

William Mulock, M.P.	Dr. Pierre M. Guay, M.P.	Hon. L. H. Davies, M.P.
William Gibson, M.P.	Louis F. Brodeur, M.P.	Dr. Peter Macdonald, M.P.
W. C. Edwards, M.P.	F. G. Forbes, M.P.	A. A. Bruneau, M.P.
Geo. W. Dawson, M.P.	Francois Langelier, M.P.	John McMillan, M.P.
Dr. George Landarkin, M.P.	Dr. N. R. Colter, M.P.	M. E. Bernier, M.P.

### PRINTING AND LITERATURE.—William Mulock, M.P., *Chairman*.

Dr. F. W. Borden, M.P.	James Innes, M.P.	Henry G. Carroll, M.P.
James McMullen, M.P.	A. H. Gillmor, M.P.	Thomas B. Flint, M.P.
John Yeo, M.P.	Joseph Lavergne, M.P.	Thomas Bain, M.P.
H. A. Bate, Esq.	P. Aug. Choquette, M. P.	Dr. C. I. Rinfret, M.P.

### TRANSPORTATION—William Gibson, M.P., *Chairman*.

James Sutherland, M.P.	D. C. Fraser, M.P.	A. H. Gillmor, M.P.
C. R. Devlin, M.P.	R. Prefontaine, M.P.	S. F. Perry, M.P.
James Lister, M.P.	W. LeB. Fauvel, M.P.	Arch. Campbell, M.P.
Wm. McGregor, M.P.	D. Monet, M.P.	T. B. Rider, M.P.

## APPOINTED BY THE CONVENTION.

### TO STRIKE COMMITTEES.

Sir Richard Cartwright, M.P.	Hon. W. S. Fielding, M.P.	Hon. Wilfred Laurier, M.P.
James Sutherland, M.P.	Dr. F. W. Borden, M.P.	Hon. C. A. P. Pelletier,
for Ontario,	for Nova Scotia,	for Quebec,
Hon. H. L. Davies, M.P.	Hon. A. G. Blair, M.P.	Hon. Robert Watson,
Hon. Fred Peters, M.P.	A. H. Gillmor, M.P.	J. A. Richard,
for Prince Edward Island,	for New Brunswick,	for Manitoba.

### RESOLUTIONS—Hon. W. S. Fielding, *Chairman*; Andrew Pattullo, *Secretary*.

<i>Ex-Officio</i> —	Hon. F. P. Thompson,	Hon. R. W. Scott.
Hon. Wilfred Laurier,	A. H. Gillmor, M.P.	Sir Richard Cartwright.
Sir Oliver Mowat,	W. F. George,	Hon. David Mills, M.P.
Hon. W. S. Fielding,	George G. King,	John Charlton, M.P.
Hon. A. G. Blair,	G. Haddow,	John McMillan, M.P.
Hon. H. G. Joly de Lotbiniere,	J. L. Carleton,	George C. Gibbons.
Hon. Fred Peters,	G. F. Gregory,	Jas. D. Edgar, M.P.
Hon. Clifford Sifton,	J. U. Ellier,	R. C. Clute
<i>Nominated</i> —	Jas. Domville,	D. Burke Simpson.
Hon. C. A. P. Pelletier	Jas. O'Brien,	Jas. Sutherland, M.P.
Hon. W. Ross,	Hon. J. A. C. Prendergast,	James Conner, M.P.P.
Hon. F. Langelier,	Hon. Robt. Wat-on,	Robt. Jaffray.
Hon. F. G. Marchand,	Frs. Richard, M.P.	W. Mulock, M.P.
Hon. D. A. Macdonald,	Hon. J. H. Ross,	W. Patterson, M.P.
C. Beausoleil, M.P.	Hon. James Richards,	W. D. Balfour, M.P.P.
P. Aug. Choquette, M.P.	Hon. David Laird,	Andrew Pattullo.
C. Deschene, M.P.P.	Malcolm MacDonald,	Hon. Jas. Young,
Dr. P. M. Guay, M.P.	Hon. L. H. Davies, M.P.	Chas. Mackenzie, M.P.P.
A. Turgeon, M.P.P.	Hon. B. Rogers,	F. T. Frost,
L. H. Brodeur, M.P.	J. W. Carmichael,	A. T. Wood.
Dr. Christie, M.P.	W. H. Chase,	J. R. Stratton, M.P.P.
J. Israel Tarte, M.P.	M. Dwyer,	T. O. Anderson.
J. Scriver, M.P.	Hon. A. G. Jones,	Jas. McMullen, M.P.
S. A. Fisher, ex-M.P.	George J. Troop,	T. P. Gorman.
Dr. Rinfret, M.P.	G. H. Murray,	Hon. J. M. Gibson.
Jules Tessier, M.P.P.	D. C. Fraser, M.P.	N. A. Belcourt.
George Carroll, M.P.	Hon. A. McGillivray,	E. D. O'Flynn.
Dr. Godbout, M.P.	Mayor Keefe,	W. R. Aslesworth.
C. R. Devlin, M.P.	Mayor Allan,	Joseph Tait, M.P.P.
Dr. Vaillancourt, M.P.	Dr. Borden, M.P.	W. Gibson, M.P.

## OTTAWA LOCAL COMMITTEES.

### FINANCE :

A. McLean, F. McDougal, E. E. Lauzon, Levi Crannell, and W. G. Black.

### ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO HON. MR. LAURIER :

A. MacLean, F. R. Latchford, N. A. Belcourt and F. H. Chrysler, Q. C.

### DECORATIONS :

H. A. Bate, F. R. Latchford, A. Legault, and Geo. E. St. George.

### RECEPTION :

Composed of the Executive and Advisory Committees of the Ottawa Reform Association, 100 members in all.

Acting Secretary of all Committees—R. Rouan.



MONTEMINA, PHOTO, QUEBEC.

F. G. M. DECHENE, ESQ., M.P.P.,  
L'ISLET, QUEBEC—Secretary of the Convention.





## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Following is as complete a list as could be made of those present at the Convention :

### ONTARIO.

ADDINGTON.—G. W. Dawson, M.P., Wm. Whelan, W. J. Donaldson, John B. Aylesworth, A. P. Bell, James Aylesworth, Hiram Keech, J. M. Smith, Michael Donahoe, Redmond Mellon, Jerome Thompson, James Coulter, C. W. Day, R. B. Howes, George Howes.

ALGOMA.—James Conmee, M.P.P., W. D. Kehoe, Wm. C. Foster, J. F. Ruttan, John Boyd, D. F. Burk, W. G. Sims, D. C. Cameron.

BOTHWELL.—David Mills, M.P., Robert Ferguson, M.P.P., James Ferguson, Wm. A. Mills, Dr. Knight.

BRANT, NORTH.—James Somerville, M.P., W. B. Wood, M.P.P., M. F. Ainslie, E. R. Langa, George Wait, Dr. Patten, Joseph Moyle, George Cummings, Stephen Hall, James Somerville.

BRANT, SOUTH.—Wm. Paterson, M.P., Hon. A. S. Hardy, Dr. L. Secord, W. G. Raymond, Michael Ryan, Chief Wm. Smith, C. W. Gurney, Chas. Whitney, John Sutherland.

BROCKVILLE.—James Cumming, C. A. Woods, Raney Loucks, John Loverin, D. Derbyshire, Thos. Southworth, George Brown, Geo. C. Bellamy, D. W. Downey, Turner Koye, A. C. Johns, Peter Stewart, Jas. Bissell, A. Taggart, Wm. C. Cross, G. M. Cossitt, Geo. A. Dana, J. Dargavel, Wm. Hart, V. Marshall, Geo. Crain, Jas. Robertson, M. M. Brown, B. F. Stewart, D. W. Downey, W. H. McNish, Robt. Bryson, Wm. Neilson.

BRUCE, EAST.—J. R. McLean, A. W. Robb, George Lobsinger, Thomas Young, R. Truax, ex-M.P.

BRUCE, NORTH.—R. Munro, Joseph Chambers, John Irwin, Arthur Jones, J. E. Campbell, Wm. McCausland, Dr. Bonnar.

BRUCE, WEST.—James Rowand, M.P., Walter M. Dack, M.P.P., D. McTavish, A. R. Hutchison, P. S. McLaren, P. H. McKenzie.

CARDWELL.—John Husheon.

CARLETON.—George H. Rochester, J. L. McDougall, jr., D. B. Rochester, J. D. Lindsay, W. E. Rowan, John O'Callaghan, A. Cleurette, James Tierney, Martin O'Mara, L. J. Macdougall, jr., J. N. O'Grady, F. M. Robertson, J. B. Charleson, S. Young.

CORNWALL AND STORMONT.—Victor Begg, Dr. W. A. Munro, Wm. Mack, M.P.P., John D. McGinnis, J. G. Snetsinger, J. E. Brownell, John Johnston, James Begg, jr., Rev. J. W. Clark, George Bennett, Hugh M. Campbell, Alex. Munro, Wm. A. Campbell, Simeon Warner, A. K. McDonald, J. M. Campbell, D. K. McLean, D. P. McKinnon, M. D. McEnery, J. A. Chisholm, Barlow Warner.

**DUNDAS.**—Adam Johnston, George Smith, R. A. McLennan, John Sullivan, A. D. Hunter, Sam. D. Rose, John R. Gibbons, Geo. R. Bow, James McOnat, R. W. Weir, Peter McIntosh, D. F. Sutherland, Alex. Rose, Alex. McMaster, David Melvin, James E. Mill, J. S. Render, John McTavish, Dr. E. McLaughlin, John W. Munro, Frank Dwyer, sr., Hugh Kerns.

**DURHAM, EAST.**—Wm. Williamson, George Wilson, J. T. George.

**DURHAM, WEST.**—R. Beith, M.P., W. T. Lockhart, M.P.P., D. Burke Simpson, Richard Windatt, W. R. Clinie, Joseph Jeffery, Richard Woodley, Wm. Trewin, A. W. Carveth, J. C. Mitchell, M.D.

**ELGIN, EAST.**—James S. Brierley, John Farley, Angus McCrimmon, David McLaws, A. D. McGregor, Dr. J. H. Wilson, ex-M.P., Alex. Darrach.

**ELGIN, WEST.**—Geo. E. Casey, M.P., Dr. J. Cascadden, Dr. Stalker.

**ESSEX, NORTH.**—Wm. McGregor, M.P., M. Guindon, J. H. Rodd, A. McNee, A. McNeil, Joseph Degurse, T. M. Morton, Gaspard Pacaud, ex-M.P.P., Francis Cleary, Alfred Beneteau, Peter Drouillard, Francis St. Louis.

**ESSEX, SOUTH.**—H. W. Allan, M.P., W. D. Balfour, M.P.P., O. H. Bricker, John S. Middough, Colin Wigle, John H. Rodd.

**FRONTENAC.**—Jas. McGrath, T. C. Stark, Thos. Clyde.

**GLENGARRY.**—Hon. D. A. McDonald, Jas. Rayside, M.P.P., Donald McDougall, A. G. McBean, John Simpson, J. T. Schell, M. P. Munro, M. Munro, W. J. Simpson, Arch. McNab, D. M. MacPherson, Peter Sinclair, Allan J. McDonald, A. D. Urquhart, Robt. McKenzie, A. McIntosh, A. D. Kennedy, Donald Kennedy, Jas. McKenzie, W. E. McKillican.

**GRENVILLE, SOUTH.**—John Ferguson, Hugh Leahy, John Jackson, Jas. M. Thompson, Jas. McLatchie, J. D. R. Williams, Rufus Throop, Andrew E. McPherson, Geo. G. Serviss, John Carruthers, Thos. J. Redmond, J. R. O'Reilly, Thos. Hunter, Adam Barber, John Smail, James Stoddart.

**GREY, EAST.**—Jas. Cleland, M.P.P., Dr. Hunt, Jno. Clark, C. W. Hartin.

**GREY, NORTH.**—Benj. Allen, Robert Henry, Robert McLaughlin, Charles H. Whitthein, Dr. Horsey, A. G. Browning.

**GREY, SOUTH.**—Dr. Landerkin, M.P., G. McKechnie, M.P.P., Donald Graham, J. J. Smith, David McNichol, F. S. Reimer, Alexander Taylor, Patrick McCullough, William Irvine.

**HALDIMAND.**—Dr. David Thompson, George Murray, Jacob Kohler, C. W. Colter, Thomas Burns, Dr. Buxter, M.P.P.

**HALTON.**—H. P. Lawson, D. Wheelihan, John Waldie, Joseph Barber.

**HAMILTON.**—John McCulloch, W. F. Burton, A. T. Wood, W. J. Copp, Hon. J. M. Gibson, Seneca Jones, H. F. Gardiner, H. Arland, Hugh S. Brunnen, W. R. Davis, A. MacPherson.

**HASTINGS, EAST.**—Peter Murphy, D. R. Levens, C. E. Lyons, W. R. Aylesworth, A. S. Valleau, S. Russell, A. G. Bogart, L. Hoppins, John Dalton, W. A. McLeod.

**HASTINGS, NORTH.**—A. W. Coe, C. F. Aylesworth, E. D. O'Flynn, James Milne, Byron Lott, D. O. Lott, James Best, B. C. Hubbell, Jefferson Caverly, Luther Cornell.

HASTINGS, WEST.—R. C. Clute, Q.C., John F. Frost, A. R. Clute, C. D. Macaulay, T. S. Carman, J. B. Young, George A. White, R. B. O'Flynn, W. Chown.

HURON, EAST.—Dr. McDonald, M.P., Thomas Gibson, M.P.P., D. M. Gordon, John McLean, Thomas Strachan, J. A. Morton, R. Miller, John Neelands, R. Elliott.

HURON, SOUTH.—John McMillan, M.P., Arch. Bishop, M.P.P., D. D. Wilson, M. Y. Maclean.

HURON, WEST.—J. M. Shepherd, J. T. Garrow, M.P.P., Thomas Burns, M. C. Cameron, ex-M.P.

KENT.—A. Campbell, M.P., Hugh Malcolmson, D. M. Christie, Jas. Macfarlane, John T. Walwrath, T. J. Bolander, Alex. Goulett, Jas. Dillon, James Banning, A. White, T. A. Vanbridget.

KINGSTON.—Wm. Harty, M.P.P., W. R. McRae, John B. Carruthers, N. C. Polson, Edmond Germain, Patrick Daly, George Mills, jr., C. L. Curtis, M.D., Alex. Gunn, ex-M.P.

LAMBERTON, EAST.—John Hockin, H. F. Williams, R. Stott.

LAMBERTON, WEST.—Jas. Lister, M.P., Charles Mackenzie, M.P.P., H. J. Pettypiece, George Leys, Joshua Adams, J. I. Carter, Montague Smith, John Mahoney, James Purvis, Wm. Elliott.

LANARK, NORTH.—R. J. Dowdall, W. C. Caldwell, M.P.P., Robert Robertson, E. W. Smith, W. A. Sherriff, James Moffatt, Robert Galbraith, Joseph Yuill, Alex. McLean, Thomas Watt, J. H. Wilson, W. W. Craig, Peter Stewart, M. M. Neilson, J. W. Neilson, Charles Mohr, Matthew McFarlane, Andrew Simpson, John Crawford, Wm. Oakley, James Oakley, Gilbert Forgie, A. Hamlin, N. Stevenson, D. P. Lynch, M.D., Jos. T. Kirkland, W. P. McEwen, C. M. Simpson, A. R. McIntyre, Arch. Rankin, D. M. Fraser.

LANARK, SOUTH.—Wm. McGarry, Duncan Kippen, A. H. Edwards, Henry Taylor, Ralph Dodds, J. M. Walker, S. S. Merrick, John McCann, Jas. Gilles, Colin McIntosh, Joseph Cram, P. McDougall, J. H. Bangs, D. Breckenridge, David Gilles.

LEEDS AND GRENVILLE.—George Riddell, H. H. Arnold, Walter Telford, J. B. Arnold, L. Edmunds, A. G. Farrell, Thos. McManus, Elias Moir, Heman McCrea, G. F. McKimm, Robt. Cowan, S. Code, John Christie, J. M. Clark, Dr. J. S. McCallum, Peter R. McDonald, A. C. Rutherford, F. T. Frost, Hiram Easton, R. G. Eastman, W. Small, John Selleck, G. R. Putnam, Hugh McCann, John Kerr, W. H. Gould, A. C. Rutherford, Benjamin Beach, John Coleman.

LEEDS, SOUTH.—Amasa Taggart, W. H. Fredonburgh, W. J. Webster, R. R. Phillips, A. W. Blanchard, John Bowser, O. D. Cowan, John K. Thomson, Dennis Donovan, E. C. Sliter, C. E. Britton, W. P. Dailey, Walter Johnson, M. Donavan, J. A. Wood, J. Ferguson.

LENNOX.—D. W. Allison, ex-M.P., H. S. Davy, S. C. Warner, Thos. Symmington, John Pollard, A. A. Miller, David Aylesworth, George Goodwin.

LINCOLN AND NIAGARA.—Wm. Gibson, M.P., Wm. Garson, ex-M.P.P., Thomas Nihan, Geo. A. Begy, Capt. John Sullivan, T. J. Crowley.

LONDON.—C. S. Hyman, ex-M.P., Geo. C. Gibbons, Q.C., Talbot MacBeth, L. W. Burke, A. E. Franklin, H. C. McBride, A. Sharp, W. J. Craig, Geo. M. Reid.

MIDDLESEX, EAST.—W. B. Scatcherd, Jno. Kennedy, R. W. Jackson.

MIDDLESEX, NORTH.—Septimus Hogarth, Rev. John S. Lochead, John Waters, M.P.P., W. H. Taylor.

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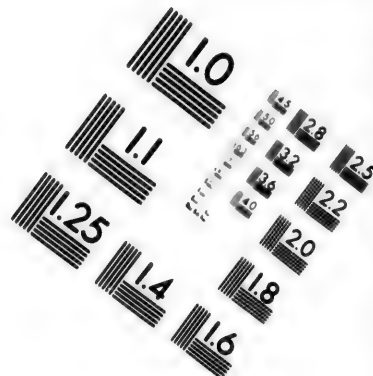
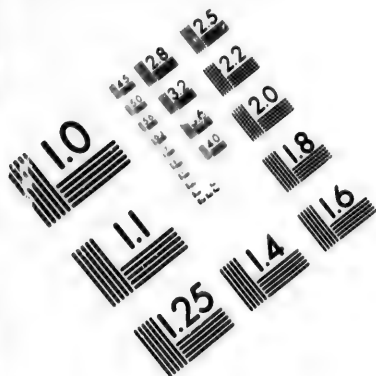
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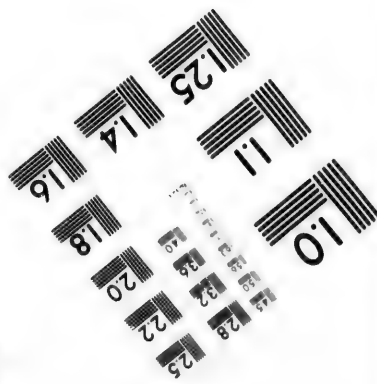
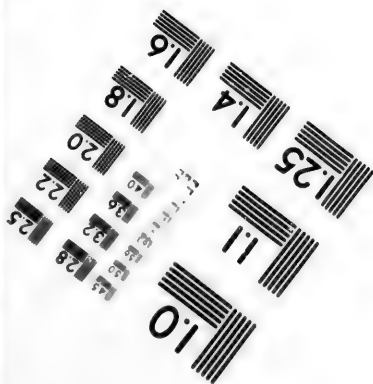
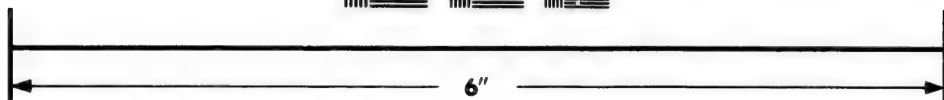
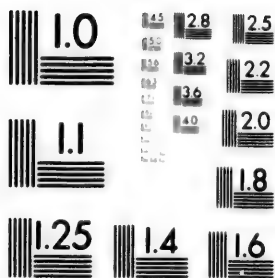
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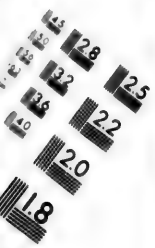


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# INDEX.

	PAGE.
Anglin, Hon. T. W.	136
BLAIR, Hon. A. G.	
Elected Vice-Chairman	19
Takes the Chair	88
Boas, F.	85
Borden, Dr. F. W., M.P.	18
Call, The	4
CARTWRIGHT, Sir RICHARD.	
Proposes Vice-Chairman for N. S.	15
Main Address	40
Casgrain, J. P. B.	101
Chairman's Address	5
Charlton, John, M.P.	81
Choquette, P. Aug., M.P.	75
Cloran, H. J.	104
Committee to Strike Committees	23
"    "    on Resolutions Appointed.	38
"    "    Report	70
Copp, W. J.	84
Corruption, Resolution Condemning	99
Coulter, C. W.	117
Davies, Hon. L. H., M.P.	78
Dechene, F. G. M., M.P.P.	142
Demaris, O., M.P.P.	116
Devlin, C. J., M.P.	94
Dowdall, R. J.	130
Durocher, O., Mayor, Letter from	39
Economy, Resolution on	105
Emmerson, Hon. H. R.	111
Extravagance, Resolution Condemning	105
FIELDING, Hon. W. S.	
Elected Vice-Chairman	16
Presents Report Com'te on Res.	70
Takes the Chair	72
Presents Supplementary Report	133
First Day Evening Session	24
Fisher, S. A.	134
Forbes, F. G., M.P.	95
Franchise Act, Resolutions	
Condemning	122
Fraser, D. C., M.P.	66
Frost, F. T.	89
Gardiner, H. F.	76
Gerrymander, The Resolution	
Condemning	129
Gibbons, George C., Q.C.	105
Gibson, Wm., M.P.	140
Gillmor, A. H., M.P.	50
Guay, Dr., P.M., M.P.	15
Guerin, Edmund	108
Halley, Edward	113
Hyman, C. S.	39

	PAGE.
JOLY DE LOTBINIERE, Hon. H. G.	
Elected Vice-Chairman	18
Address in French	55
Takes the Chair	108
JONES, Hon. A. G.	
Proposes Vice-Chairman	17
Address on Franchise Act	122
Kerr, W. T.	139
King, George G.	129
Laird, Hon. David	22
Lancetot, Dr. J.	131
Landerkin, Dr. George, M.P.	69
Lands, Public, Resolution Respecting	118
LAURIER, Hon. WILFRID.	
Proposes Chairman	5
Proposes Com'tes to Strike Com'tees	23
Main Address	24
Address in French	62
Moves Res. on Tariff Reform	72
Resolution of Confidence in	141
Response to Res. of Confidence	142
LONGLEY, Hon. J. W.	
Proposes Vice-Chairman	22
Moves Third Resolution	97
Marchand, Hon. F. G.	5
Mills, Hon. David	114
Monet, D., M.P.	123
Mowat, Sir Oliver	5
Mulock, Wm., M.P.	128
Murray, Thomas	54
McCrae, D.	90
McFarlane, John	92
McKeown, H. A.	139
McLean, Alexander	5
McLennan, Dr. Angus	109
McMullen, James, M.P.	132
McRae, J. W.	23
Ottawa Electric St. Ry. Co.	23
Ottawa, Mayor of, Letter from	39
Parliamentary Rights, Resolution	
Respecting	116
Paterson, William, M.P.	73
Pelletier, Hon. C. A. P.	19
Peters, Hon. Fred.	21
Power, Hon. L. G.	21
Prohibition Plebiscite, Resolution	
Respecting	135
Raymond, W. G.	93
Reciprocity, Resolution Respecting	81
Ross, Hon. David	16
Ross, Hon. Jas. H.	120
Rowell, N. W.	125



	PAGE.		PAGE.
Royal Commissions, Resolution Re-		Announces Invitation .....	23
specting .....	116	Report of Committee .....	38
Savoie, F. T. ....	92	Tait, Joseph, M.P.P. ....	68
Scott, Hon. R. W. ....	134	Tariff Reform, Resolution on ....	71
Second Day, Morning Session. ....	54	Tarte, J. Israel, M.P. ....	67
Afternoon " .....	66	Thanks, Vote of .....	140
Evening " .....	96	Vice-Chairmen, Election of .....	15
Senate Reform, Resolution Respect'g. ....	134	WATSON, Hon. ROBERT.	
Shaw, J. W. ....	113	Proposes Vice-Chairman .....	20
SIFTON, Hon. CLIFFORD.		Address on Public Lands .....	118
Elected Vice-Chairman .....	22	Webb, F. L. ....	117
Address on Fourth Resolution .....	107	Weldon, C. W. ....	18
Smith, Chief William. ....	91	Wilde, J. E. ....	90
Spence, F. S. ....	137	Wilson, William .....	103
SUTHERLAND, JAMES, M.P.		Whyte, John. ....	141
Nominates Secretaries .....	15	Young, Hon. James. ....	93

PAGE.	
23	.....
38	.....
68	.....
71	.....
67	.....
140	.....
15	.....
20	.....
118	.....
117	.....
18	.....
90	.....
103	.....
141	.....
99	.....